DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 215 600 HE 014 835

AUTHOR	Hore, Terry, Ed.; And Others
TITLE	A New Era for Tertiary Education. Proceedings of a Joint Conference of the Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education and Monash University (Toowoomba, Australia, August 21-24, 1980).
INSTITUTION	Darling Downs Inst. of Advanced Education, Toowoomba, Queensland (Australia).; Monash Univ., Clayton, Victoria (Australia).
REPORT NO	ISBN-0-909306-31-1
PUB DATE	Aug 80
NOTE	257p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education, Post Office, Darling Heights, Toowomba, Queensland, Australia 4350.
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	*Accountability; *College Role; College Students; Economic Factors; *Education Work Relationship; Enrollment Trends; Foreign Countries; Lifelong Learning; Political Influences; *Postsecondary Education; *Public Policy; Technical Education
IDENTIFIERS	*Australia

ABSTRACT

Proceedings are presented of a conference that examined the purposes and setting of tertiary education in Australia in the changing social order of the 1980s, the future roles for tertiary education in Australia, and the pattern and form of accountability appropriate to Australian tertiary education in the late twentieth century. Papers and authors are as follows: "Tertiary Education for What, for Whom? How Much for How Many in the 1980s?" (Alec M. Ross); "Post-Secondary Education for What?" (Terry Hore); "Post-Secondary Education in the Australian Economy of the 1980s" (Brian R. Abbey); "The Demographic and Social Context of Tertiary Education," (Robert Birrell); "The Political Outlook for Australian Tertiary Education, I" (Chris Puplick); "The Political Outlook for Australian Tertiary Education, II" (John Button); "Commentary: Conflict and Consensus: The Continuing Debate" (Peter R. Chippendale); "Higher Education and the Labour Market" (Garry O'Byrne and Jack Brown); "Why Is So Much Importance Being Attached to Technical and Further Education in the 1980s?" (J. F. Limbrick); "Is There a Place for a Liberal Education?" (Max Charlesworth); Post-Secondary Education in the 1980s" (Leo H. T. West); "Commentary: Future Roles for Tertiary Education in Australia" (Lindsay J. Barker); "Public Accountability in Australian Tertiary Education" (John Bremer); "Commentary: The Pattern and Accountability of the New Era" (Peter R. Chippendale); and "Conference Overview" (Alec M. Ross). (SW)

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ED215600

A NEW ERA FOR TERTIARY EDUCATION

Edited by

TERRY HORE

PETER R. CHIPPENDALE

LEO H.T. WEST

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Proceedings of a Conference convened jointly by the Higher Education Policy Research and Evaluation Unit at the Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education and the Higher Education Advisory and Research Unit of Monash University, in Toowoomba, August 21-24, 1980.

Prepared by the Higher Education Advisory and Research Unit of Monash University and published by The Higher Education Policy Research and Education Unit of the Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education, Toowoomba, Australia.

First published 1981

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NATIONAL LIBRARY OF AUSTRALIA CARD NUMBER AND ISBN

ISBN 0 909306 31 1

Current Issues in Higher Education

THE DARLING DOWNS CONFERENCES

The Higher Education Policy Research and Evaluation Unit (formerly the Department of Educational Practices and Extension) of the Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education conducts a continuing series of conferences on current issues of fundamental importance in higher education. "The New Era for Tertiary Education", the conference in the series on which this volume is based, was convened jointly by the Darling Downs Unit and the Higher Education Advisory and Research Unit of Monash University. It was conducted in Toowoomba in August 1980.

Other conference themes have included:

- Accountability in Education
- Governance of the Australian Colleges of Advanced Education
- Tertiary Education and the Disadvantaged: Challenge and Response
- The Community College in Australia?
- Accountability in Australian Higher Education
- Excellence or Equality: Dilemmas for Policy and Planning in Australian Higher Education?
- Policy and Planning in Teacher Education

Publications arising from these conferences include:

Accountability in Education, edited by P.R. Chippendale and Paula V. Wilkes (University of Queensland Press)
Governance of the Australian Colleges of Advanced Education, edited by L.J. Barker (DDIAE Press)
Excellence or Equality: Dilemmas for Policy and Planning in Higher Education? (Higher Education Policy Research and Education Unit, DDIAE).

These publications are available from the DDIAE Bookshop, Post Office, Darling Heights, Toowoomba, Qld. 4350.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are indebted to Dr. L.J. Barker, the Director of the Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education for sponsoring this conference and to the participants and discussion group leaders who debated and argued over the issues raised in these papers. The editors are especially grateful to the authors of these papers, not only for their insights but for the co-operation and speedy responses to questions raised by the editors. Thanks are also due to the Conference Secretaries, Mrs. Annette Kelder, and Mrs. Joan Wilberforce for the quiet pleasant way they looked after the arrangements, and finally to the staff of Mc Gregor College for their efficient, unobtrusive service.

In order to keep down the cost of this publication it was decided to type and off-set print; because of this it will be obvious to all readers that we had an excellent typist, Mrs. Helen Keogh. We would like to thank her for her care, interest and good humour.

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EDITORIAL COMMENT

There were two phases of the conference. Firstly the information input phase, in which invited papers were presented, reacted to, and discussed in the total participant body. This was followed by a workshop phase in which participants, in small groups, discussed specific aspects of the conference theme.

It has been relatively easy to reproduce the information input phase, although the inclusion only of the presented papers and not of the reactors' and participants' comments robs the collection of some of the richness of the actual conference.

The discussion groups were very valuable personal experiences for the group members. The sharing of ideas with colleagues from different sectors, different disciplines, different states, administrators and academics, did much to help us all to better understand post-secondary education in the 1980s. In order to capture some of those experiences, Peter Chippendale has provided a synthesis of the reports of each of the relevant discussion groups at the end of each section of this monograph. In doing this we appreciate that due recognition may not be given to specific contributions of individual members of the groups. Group members, and particularly group leaders, made considerable inputs into these discussions and we wish to record their contribution by listing the names of participants in the discussion groups.

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INTRODUCTION

PETER R. CHIPPENDALE

Over the past decade the Higher Education Policy Research Unit (formerly the Department of Educational Practices and Extension) of the Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education has conducted a continuing series of conferences on current issues of fundamental importance in Australian higher education. The most recent conference, conducted at the Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education in August 1980, and convened jointly by the Darling Downs Unit and the Higher Education Advisory and Research Unit of Monash University, focussed on the theme, "The New Era for Tertiary Education".

This conference was designed to examine the purposes and setting of tertiary education in Australia in the changing social order of the 'eighties; to consider the future roles for tertiary education in this country; and to explore the pattern and form of accountability appropriate to Australian tertiary education in the late Twentieth Century. Thus the conference addressed itself to the question, "Tertiary Education for what, for whom, how much and for how many in the 1980s?" This wide-ranging question, taken up by Conference Leader, Professor Alec Ross, whose paper provides the opening contribution to the present volume, was seen by the conference convenors and editors of this work to bring into sharp focus three major concerns, directly reflecting the conference objectives, for the future of Australian tertiary education. These concerns, and the subsidiary questions which they raised for the conference, were:

I. What Are the Purposes and the Setting for Australian Tertiary Education in the Nineteen-Eighties?

The resolution of this issue appeared to pivot on arriving at a substantial understanding of the meaning of post-secondary education in its Australian setting, and of its aims and its possibilities in the late Twentieth Century. Thus the conference examined papers presented to it, and reproduced in Part I of this volume, on "Post-Secondary Education for What?", "Post-Secondary Education in the Australian Economy of the 'Eighties"; "Post-Secondary Education and Demographic Changes in Australian Society"; and "The Political Outlook for Australian Tertiary Education", by Dr. Terry Hore, Mr. Brian Abbey, Dr. Robert Birrell, and Senators Chris Puplick and John Button, respectively.

II. What Are the Future Roles for Tertiary Education in Australia?

It was considered that this issue focussed particular attention on: the role of post-secondary education in the provision of trained manpower to the employment market; the special importance being attached to the technical and further education sector of Australian tertiary education in the prevailing economic and educational climate; the fundamental meaning and the place of liberal education in the theory and practice of tertiary education in Australia; and the consultative, research or non-training roles of post-secondary education in this country. The conference was addressed on each of these matters in turn by Dr. Garry O'Byrne, John Limbrick, Professor Max Charlesworth, Dr. Jack McDonell and Dr. Leo West whose contributions to the debate will be found in Part II of this book.

III. The Validity of the Prevailing Pattern and Forms of Accountability of Tertiary Education in Australia

Another major concern perceived for the future of Australian tertiary education was the validity of its prevailing pattern and its forms of accountability for the emerging social and educational order of the late Twentieth Century. Thus Dr. Lindsay Barker, Director of the Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education, addressed the "New Era Conference" on "The Prevailing Pattern of Post-Secondary Education in Australia: Anachronism of the 'Seventies or Prescription for the 'Eighties?", and Dr. John Bremer, editor of The Australian Higher Education Supplement, spoke to delegates on "The Public Accountability of Australian Tertiary Education". Both of these papers can be found in Part III of the present volume.

Fundamental to the thinking of the convenors of the conference on "The New Era for Tertiary Education" was the importance of discussion and debate upon the expressed viewpoints of the various contributors. Conference delegates took up the debate of these three issues in smaller groups in which they represented their respective interests. Each group subsequently formulated a report on its findings. These reports revealed both conflict and consensus and identified some major issues of the continuing debate on the future of tertiary education in Australia. From these reports the writer has constructed for this volume three commentaries which form the concluding chapters of Sections 1, 2 and 3 of this book.

The editors trust that in the slowly growing literature on Australian post-secondary education this volume will contribute to an understanding of the meaning, the purposes, and the possibilities for tertiary education appropriate to the social, economic and educational order of Australian society at the opening of the penultimate decade of this Century and beyond.

I

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

TERTIARY EDUCATION FOR WHAT, FOR WHOM, HOW MUCH AND FOR HOW MANY IN THE 1980s

Keynote Address

ALEC M. ROSS

The theme of this conference incorporates a series of sharply put questions to which we are invited to provide answers. Many different answers and, indeed, sets of answers are possible; at one level we can focus upon the question of funding whilst at another we can seek to explore the value-laden decisions which can be given to questions about Who? What? and How much? To consider the kinds of answers we might give if we were absolved from taking into account the constraints, financial and other, which today discipline us would be interesting, self-indulgent and irresponsible so that is not our purpose in this conference. We approach our discussion of tertiary education in the 1980s in the full realisation that funds are not unlimited and that every dollar of public money spent on tertiary education is a dollar not spent on other eminently worthy activities such as education at other levels, housing, health care, hospitals, the care of the elderly, and aid to developing countries. Educational questions are indeed political questions and in my view this is to be welcomed since it forces us to articulate our arguments in such a way as to gain from the public, and especially those who are elected to public office, that measure of understanding and support needed to sustain our system. What Clark Kerr (1978) has called the "short-lived golden age" of the 1960s and early 1970s, all but universal though it was, was an exception when one looks at the development of post-secondary education over a longer time-span. Sadly most of us developed our assumptions about what is "normal" during that period; too many of us spoke loosely about "investing" in education and of how such an investment would rapidly lead to a "better life" (and by that too often we meant "more affluent life") for all. There are many who feel that we have failed to deliver; they find our arguments less compelling than they once seemed to be and I, for one, regard this as wholly to the good. We must be more cautious about the promises we make, we should be clearer in our own mind about what it is we are here to do and above all we should be much more conscious than we have been in the past about the uses to which we put the not inconsiderable amounts of public money committed to us. A conference such as this gives us a valuable opportunity to clarify our thinking about what it is we hope to offer to our communities in the decade now beginning.

The title of our conference contains the word "tertiary" rather than the more traditional "higher". I welcome the broadening of scope which the newer word betokens since it encourages us to think of the task before us in the 1980s in terms of seeking out ways of providing that variety of forms of post-secondary education which the diversity of human talents necessarily implies if we are not arbitrarily to restrict opportunities for personal development and self-fulfilment to those whose talents display themselves in traditional forms. As the system of education in a country which steadily increases its level of prosperity develops, it passes through the stages firstly of elementary (later called primary) education for some then, quite rapidly, for all. Next secondary education which first emerges as the privilege conferred by wealth or the outstanding ability of the scholarship boy (and later girl), becomes universal. Finally post-secondary education, especially in the form called "higher", once the prerogative of an élite and of those deemed suitable for admission to that club, widens its scope and begins to make provision, if not for all, at any rate for many. The idea of higher education for all may well be regarded as a contradiction in terms but that of mass tertiary education is certainly not. Such a concept leads directly to the questions posed in the title of this conference. We should note in passing, however, that when secondary education was transformed from something designed for the few to something providing for the many, it was necessary to re-define what was meant by secondary education. It might also be observed that in the years since World War II, the tension and controversy in many developed countries surrounding the organisation of secondary education stem from a failure to redefine that term in a form acceptable to the majority of people. The shift, which we now contemplate, from post-secondary education seen as principally higher education with technical education on the side to the idea of a third stage of education to which, in principle, all should have access calls for clarification of purposes not only of the stage as a whole but of the different elements within the tertiary phase of education.

We see in this widening of scope a continuation of the trend to extend to more groups the opportunities provided by education. One says "trend" despite the recent slight fall in several countries in the numbers from the traditional groups coming forward for tertiary education of the conventional kind. Amongst the options now open to the well-qualified school-leaver is that of staying away from colleges and universities altogether preferring that form of tertiary education which the world of work provides. We would do well to ask ourselves why some - including, I repeat, some of the most able in the academic sense - prefer to do without what we offer. This flattening-out of the age-participation rate coupled with the fall in the size of the age cohorts graduating from secondary schools has brought upon us the familiar "crisis of numbers" as it has been called. There are, however, dangers in over-reacting to fluctuations in entry cohorts; it is better to use the concern generated by any shortfall in numbers to bring forward the too-long-postponed discussion of what is implied by the shift towards the concept of tertiary education for the many. The questions posed in our conference title can, I suggest, be answered only when we have decided to what extent, within the constraints which we must not ignore, we are prepared to produce that greater diversity in post-secondary education which, on grounds more substantial than those directly associated with declining demand, many believe is now required if we are to extend to all groups the educational benefits which at present accrue to the few. In the expansion that has so far taken place, more did not, as the cynics suggested might happen, mean worse; nevertheless more of the same undoubtedly will. More must, in fact, mean different. Increases in participation rates must be accompanied by greater diversity in the programmes offered to those who look to the tertiary education system for rewarding learning experiences. In short, though today contraction is the topic most often discussed in our common rooms, we should be thinking less of persuading more to take what we at present provide and more of extending the range of offerings. There are also those who would take what we at present have to offer if we were prepared to vary our traditional organisational patterns. Frederick Jacobs (1979), referring to the "new populations" writes of "providing better services to populations for which there are not presently enough existing structures and services". He goes on thus to explain what he means:

> "... educators and their institutions must learn to 'unbundle' or dis-aggregate the services they provide in a way that will make it easier for people who are not engaged in full-time study to take advantage of services offered. For too long educational institutions have run on a promise of a 'fixed price menu'; that is, if you want to attend you must buy all of its services" (p.30).

We know well how to provide full-time courses for young adults: but what can we offer to well-educated adults; to less well-educated adults; to socially and economically mobile adults; to employees less interested in named qualifications but anxious to update their skills; to professional people in need of continuing education; to the elderly; to the housebound and to the handicapped? Ford (1979) asks us to consider what can we do, in the Australian context, for disadvantaged groups by offering recurrent education for employment. In too many countries women are still under-represented particularly in full-time courses and in some countries particular ethnic groups feel or may even be made to feel that post-secondary education is for "them" not "us". The argument about the "new populations" is, then, part of the wider issue of diversifying both the content and the mode of presentation of education in the tertiary sector. This will undoubtedly call for flexibility within the institutions of tertiary education. Professor Peter Karmel (Karmel, 1980) makes an interesting link between willingness to respond flexibly and the preservation of autonomy:

> "... the health of the whole system of higher education will depend on the institutions doing the best they can to achieve flexibility so that they can respond to new requirements and make changes in their organisation and the courses they offer. To the extent that they show that they are able to meet that challenge themselves so will their autonomy be preserved, and society will enjoy a healthier education system" (p.42).

The Director of the Institute (Barker, 1978) in which we meet makes the same point by linking "response-to-change-capability" to autonomy at institutional level.

Whether the variety of provision which the situation requires will appear as the result of a bottom-up movement, with the local institution working within a stated framework producing the initiatives, or in a top-down mode with planning being carried out centrally, it will still be necessary to ensure that a variety of opportunities is maintained. Part-time, non-degree and so-called lower level programmes have their part to play in the expansion of opportunities at tertiary level and so too do courses which have their focus on the application of what is known or on the communication of the technical skills which modern society needs. One technologist can go a long way provided he or she has the support of suitably trained technicians and a system of tertiary education which produces the one without providing the other is defective. If we are to offer more opportunities to a wider spectrum of the population, we must be prepared to widen the scope of third level education. Consumerism alone is a bad basis for educational planning; but it cannot be entirely ignored.

The major diversification of recent years has been that represented in this country by the Colleges of Advanced Education (CAEs), in mine by the Polytechnics, in France by the Institutes Universitaire de Technologie and by similar institutions in many other countries. The major diversification of the 1980s will, I suggest, be that of the technical and further education colleges. One of the most significant things about the Williams Report (1979) is that it brings firmly into the span of tertiary education these important institutions. The CAEs and the TAFE colleges are now seen as full members of the family of institutions which together provide third level opportunities to the population. It is important to remember that the case for these institutions depends strongly on the argument for diversity of provision; they must be sure to stay close to their declared purposes. In the United Kingdom some of us have complained about what is called "academic drift" i.e. the tendency for courses originally set up to provide a practical, applied alternative to university courses, to drift towards the pure and the theoretical. The teaching process itself encourages this movement. I am second to none in respecting, admiring and defending the approach to knowledge represented by the university tradition; I will argue as strongly as anyone for the funds needed to pursue the scholarly activities traditionally associated with universities. The university road is not, however, the highway for everyone and when one is seeking for alternative pathways one is looking for programmes which are occupation-based rather than subject-based, applied rather than theoretical, criterion-referenced rather than norm-referenced, skill-based rather than ideas-based, programmes which emphasise know-how rather than know-that.

It is clear that diversification within and between the sectors of tertiary education will call for a series of delicate and at times controversial judgements. In what Peter Chippendale (1979) calls "the political ebb and flow of Commonwealth-State relations in Australia" there will be scope for a continuing discussion as to how best to coordinate our activities the better to achieve our purposes. It would be wrong to leave this debate entirely to those who have the responsibility of holding public office. The providers should be ready to contribute to the debate at every level, institutional, local, regional, sectoral, state and national. If, however, an effective contribution is to be made it must be based upon a full understanding of the system and its constituent parts. Self-scrutiny, with a view to clarification of purpose, is one which all the institutions constituting the tertiary sector might usefully undertake. The question becomes "Given the range of programmes which the community might reasonably expect the system of tertiary education to provide, what is it we can do best?"

Such an exercise must surely begin with a consideration of the aims and purposes of tertiary education generally before coming to the particular. In Britain the Robbins Report on Higher Education (Robbins 1963) spoke firstly of training people to play a part in the general division of labour (Chapter II, para. 22ff.). One can here see Lord Robbins the distinguished economist at work.

There can be no doubt that this aspect of the task is of major importance at every level of tertiary education but it is important to remember that Robbins went on to speak of other aims - of "promoting the general powers of the mind", of "the advancement of learning" and of "the transmission of a common culture and common standards of citizenship". If the Robbins Report of 1963 in Britain was a statement by an economist written on the eve of what was thought to be a major technological revolution, that by the Carnegie Commission in the United States of America published in 1973 adopted a more sociological perspective again as befitted the times. The five major purposes it proposes are as follows:

> Advancing the intellectual and professional capacity of individual students within a constructive campus environment
>
> Enhancing human capability in society at large through training, research, and service
>
> Increasing social justice through greater equality of opportunity to obtain an advanced education
>
> Advancing learning for its own sake through science, scholarship, and the creative arts; and for the sake of public interest and consumption
>
> Evaluating society, for the benefit of its self-renewal through individual scholarship and persuasion

The Williams Report, a document for the 1980s, was written by a committee chaired by another distinguished economist. The terms of reference (and maybe the interests of the members) led to a document in the Robbins rather than the Carnegie mould. Sir Bruce has served us well in producing a report which is likely to convince our paymasters that we *are* worth the not inconsiderable sums invested in us. It would, however, be wrong to base our claim only on the argument derived from labour economics; it is important to reflect that there *are*, as the Robbins Committee and authorities quoted by the Williams Committee points out, other purposes! We are not here only to make our countries richer; we are here to pass on and to develop the culture of our society and to provide for an increasing segment of the population opportunities for personal development and self-fulfilment which would not exist without us. We also have a duty, as the Carnegie Commission pointed out, to be places where society's problems are discussed and evaluated in an atmosphere of free exchange of views. Nor should it be thought that these responsibilities are in the terms of reference of one only of the sectors of tertiary education. The technologist who is not equipped to discuss the societal impact of his inventions, the technican who is ignorant of the economics and social implications of the work in which he is engaged is a less efficient member of a democratic society.

Let me not be misunderstood here. We most certainly do have a duty to ensure that those coming to us for tertiary education and training have developed to the full their potentiality for adding to the nation's material well-being. If they can be so efficient that there is more to spare for the developing countries, so much the better. But we have other purposes too and it would be wrong to pretend that we are only in the business of raising the gross national product. W.L. Weinstein (1975) from his enviable vantage point as a Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford argues this point well.

> "For academic activity in higher education to be self-perpetuating it has to some extent to be unworldly. In each generation higher education has to provide exemplars for the next generation of socially uncommitted and irrelevant scholarship, teaching and research. For only by preserving this element - which does not mean in practice preserving it in every single corner of higher education but generously spreading it throughout - can it begin to maintain capacities for neutrality and independence, for objectivity and disinterestedness, which may make what it has to offer at the same time socially useful. Too close a social involvement can make higher education useless" (p.427).

Though few of us can aspire to the detachedness of Balliol, with its well-publicised reputation for effortless superiority, there is something in this for all of us whether we work in a small local college, a larger CAE or a prestigious university. Certainly we are committed to what sociologists call the instrumental purposes but equally are we committed to purposes which are less quantifiable in their outcomes but which have, in the long run, a significant impact to make on the quality of life in our society. Clark Kerr (1979) having noted that whereas in the 1960s the great student emphasis was on social relevance, in the 1970s it became vocational opportunities, speculates whether in the 1980s it might shift to something else "like a good general education for quality of life". He goes on to advise us that "we should not become so unbalanced that we are unable to respond to such shifting demands".

The argument I have sought to develop is, then, based on these propositions:

1. The shift from higher education for the few to tertiary education for the many calls for diversity of provision.

2. In extending opportunities to the so-called new populations we should exploit this diversity so that each can find within the varied pattern of tertiary education the pathway best suited to them.

3. It is important that we develop diversity of provision in terms of patterns of courses, styles of teaching, mode of attendance and vocational orientation.

4. Though we cannot ignore manpower planning forecasts and the need to supply the market with people trained to exploit to the full possibilities opened up by the technological revolution, we should at the same time remember that we do not live by bread alone.

5. Institutions of tertiary education should consider their position in relation to the whole field of tertiary education in the light of possible scenarios for the 1980s. None of us can meet all the demands so we should decide and seek funding for those we are in a good position to meet.

The logic of the last point, drives one towards embracing a measure of semi-specialisation, certainly by sectors but probably also by institutions within the sectors. Even with the benefits which would undoubtedly accrue to a well organised credit-transfer system, there are still difficulties, in the Australian scene, surrounding specialisation by institution. The commendable (because economic) Australian habit of attending the local institution means that those institutions which operate in isolation will of necessity have to maintain a broader pattern of provision than those in the more populous areas. Yet even within such a broader pattern there will be some activities worth particular support and other which will be required to operate at little more than the "service" level. Differential funding between the sectors of tertiary education undoubtedly causes problems but so too will differential funding between the departments of particular institutions. We cannot all be equally excellent and fair shares for all is a prescription for mediocrity. The debate about level of funding within and between institutions will, in the 1980s, be a fierce one; but so it should for this is one of the ways in which we can show ourselves to be responsible.

By the same token a measure of rationalisation would clearly be of benefit both within institutions and within sectors. Clark Kerr (1978) speaks of a new tripartitism consisting of highly selective institutions with national and international reputations followed by selective institutions with national and regional reputations, maintaining open access and responding readily to market forces. I find the concept of a league table unattractive though I recognise that there are those in both the university and CAE world who find strength in the idea, if only as a means of ensuring that they receive a larger slice of the cake. I prefer the distinction to be made on the basis of the cluster of programmes offered and would wish to see the funding to be related to that cluster. "Different but equal" should be our slogan and the basis of the funding should be "to each according to the needs of those programmes". If all this leads in some cases to mergers and to rationalisation of programmes then so be it; careful pruning and skilful grafting are ways of strengthening the growth of plants.

Such considerations lead us towards concern about control, coordination and accountability. Undoubtedly, autonomous or not, we must all accept a measure of advice and direction, for tertiary education is today too expensive for the public authority to permit waste in the form of unnecessary replication of courses. Accountability need not, however, as Guy Neave (1980) has recently explained, mean being answerable to the centre. Indeed it could be said that the need to intervene will decrease to the extent that institutions, internally through open scrutiny of their aims and objectives, and externally through sensible discussions locally and regionally, voluntarily undertake to coordinate their activities. Indeed the best safeguard of whatever measure of autonomy we have is to ensure that the occasion for direction from the centre rarely arises.

Before drawing these points to a close I would like to insert observations on three particular matters which are likely to be of significance especially in the early part of the 1980s. The three points concern research, the teacher colleges and students from overseas.

First, then, research: the argument so far developed must not be taken as implying any denigration of what many would regard as the most important contribution which tertiary education can make - that of adding to knowledge and developing new ways of applying that knowledge. Those institutions - chiefly universities - charged with the duty of maintaining the country's research effort will clearly need the conditions of work and the financial support needed to meet these responsibilities. The resources made available should continue to provide base-funding for research; the so-called dual system assumes that when a grant is awarded by a research council, the institution itself is capable of providing the basic research context. Sadly this has not been so in a number of cases in recent years. When answering the question "How much should we spend on tertiary education?" the need to maintain a research function is of paramount importance. Nevertheless there must, in the future, be sharper and more discriminatory thinking about research and its funding. In a recent article in the Three Banks Review (1979), Sir Charles Carter, a recently retired Vice Chancellor and a collaborator with his fellow economist and Vice Chancellor Sir Bruce Williams, has dared to challenge the idea that all university teachers should be active in research in the "frontiers of knowledge" sense.

> "In my view", he writes, "the stress laid on research should properly belong to 'scholarship', that is, to the activity of becoming 'learned' about the subject (which does not necessarily involve new discovery): and true research within the higher education system should, to a much greater degree, be the consequence of an informed decision that its subject shows 'timeliness and promise' - a decision which might appropriately be made through Research Councils. But the consequence of this ought certainly to be that research in a subject would be concentrated at a few centres, in order to get advantages of cross-fertilisation of minds within a strong team" (p.16).

Sir Charles is being particularly provocative here and I would not wish the argument he puts to be misused; his remarks are more applicable to large-scale project research than to the day-to-day work of those who teach at an advanced level. Nevertheless there is, especially when considering tertiary education as a whole, much to be said for considering carefully the distinction he makes between scholarship (which all of us in all sectors should exemplify) and research in the narrower sense of adding to knowledge which may necessarily, especially in its more expensive forms, have to be concentrated in fewer places. So-called "heavy" physics has long since been rationalised - internationally as well as nationally - and in an expanded system of tertiary education it will be necessary to limit the number of centres staffed, equipped and funded for the more expensive varieties of research. I hasten to add that not all research is expensive and there is no reason why even the smallest of our major institutions should not maintain some areas in which they are the pace-setters in terms of research; furthermore the world of scholarship will continue to expect Australia to maintain some centres of international significance.

There can be no doubt that universities will continue to have within them centres of research - some will have more than others. Colleges of Advanced Education may also have such centres though here one would hope that the type of research being done would be of the kind most readily done in such institutions. The drive towards producing yet more doctoral candidates should, I suggest, be curtailed. The job opportunities for such highly and maybe too narrowly-trained specialists will not be great in the 1980s and in an age when so many have still not had the privilege of a first try at tertiary education it seems to be unwise to direct more resources to the further education of the already highly educated. This is not an attack on post-graduate study but merely an attempt to argue that the present ratio of post-graduate to under-graduate study need not be maintained as the system expands.

I turn now to the teacher colleges. The problem of matching supply and demand in a demographically unstable situation is one which is not unique to Australia and the visitor from the United Kingdom has a curious feeling of déjà vu when he surveys the present scene. Part of the difficulty lies in the historical justification of these colleges. Here are institutions originally created to provide a special form of post-secondary education designed to produce teachers for the children of the poor. Many of us have spent our careers trying to bring these specialised institutions into the mainstream of higher education and the logic of the present difficult situation calls for diversifying the courses within the teacher colleges so that they are no longer monotechnic institutions or, alternatively, of merging them with more broadly based institutions. Such a move would firstly complete the process of bringing the colleges into the tertiary education system, would secondly provide a broader context within which the professional training of teachers could take place and thirdly would leave the institutions less vulnerable to sudden demographic swings. In such diversified colleges the size of the teacher education programme could be regulated more readily and students diverted as occasion served from one programme of study to another. Though I have already argued for a measure of specialisation within institutions according to the types of courses offered, I resist the idea of institutions being tied to the requirements of one profession, especially one in which the level of demand can fluctuate so quickly. There can be no doubt that some measure of rationalisation is needed but if this is coupled with plans for diversification then the total effect may not be as damaging as at present envisaged. Teacher colleges have made a great contribution to tertiary education by providing a rewarding form of post-secondary education to succeeding generations of first-generation higher education students. With their emphasis upon good teaching these same colleges could now have a good future before them as places offering a range of well-taught properly-resourced programmes including those providing a qualification for entry into one of the most important professions in our society.

Finally I come to the overseas students. It is likely that in the 1980s there will be an increasing flow of South East Asian students towards Australia and it behoves us to consider what type of courses to provide for these future leaders of developing countries. In many ways the expansion of tertiary education in developing countries in the post World War II period provides us with a case study of how important are the judgements we make about the type of tertiary education provided. As independence came to so many developing countries, new universities on western models were set up everywhere along with petrochemical plants, steel mills, hospitals, national airlines and all the other outward symbols of independence. The rapid development of a modern sector was seen as the way to create what Dore (1978) calls "economic bridgeheads" designed to raise the quality of life of all people, poor as well as rich, rural as well as urban. The idea was sound but the practice has been less encouraging. The benefits have tended to stay in and around the modern sector institutions and tertiary education - one of the means whereby personnel are trained to operate the modern sector - has been seen as a means of transferring money from the pockets of the less well off to those of the better off. The World Bank (1974) in its 1974 sector report on education deprecated the tendency of higher education to take a disproportionate amount of the national budget. The 1980 edition (World Bank 1980) favours non-university types of institution which "can concentrate on industry-related fields, provide short terminal programs, relate more directly to the requirements of the economy and of the community and can easily be extended to cover different parts of the country" (p.46). Too often the modern sector, modelled on the west, has succeeded in devaluing the indigenous culture of the developing countries, the very thing which independence was supposed to foster. The rural poor seeking some of the benefits which appear in and around the institutions fostered by the modern sector, migrate to the towns and there create those shanties, or favela as they are called in Brazil, which are an assault on the conscience of all of us. Iran provides a notable example of a challenge to the orthodoxy that higher education on western lines must be to the benefit of the developing countries. Such ideas should certainly be kept in mind by those who offer training to students from developing countries. Such ideas may also provide stimulus for thought by those considering the shape and direction of tertiary education in the developed countries.

Educational planning involves choices and it is right that those of us who have the training needed to articulate the choices available should speak our thoughts so that the public at large is better informed about the decisions which have to be made in relation to our enterprises by those elected to public office.

In conclusion I have to confess that I am not providing answers to the sharp questions posed in the conference title. I may not have been particularly helpful to you since if I have achieved my purpose I have demonstrated that though the questions are straight-forward enough, the answers are certainly not, for they rely on a series of judgements. The papers to be read during this conference will provide us with the background needed to understand more clearly the options available to us. Australia is fortunate in having a document such as the Williams Report available to it as the new decade begins. The Report is not, however, a terminal point but merely the start of what will through the 1980s be a continuing debate on tertiary education in Australia. There can be no question about the importance of that debate for the future of the Commonwealth, for the decisions taken now will have an influence upon those who enter our institutions in the remaining years of this incredible twentieth century.

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SECTION I

AUSTRALIAN TERTIARY EDUCATION IN THE 1980s: PURPOSES AND SETTINGS

CHAPTER 1.1

"REFLECTION" HAS AT LEAST TWO MEANINGS: POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR WHAT?

TERRY HORE

One educational philosopher once said "... any fruitful reflection about the purposes of education must now begin with a definition of our own social and cultural condition" (Bouwsma, 1975, p.208).

In the Keynote Address we heard about transmitting a common culture and common tradition, and in earlier times defining one's cultural condition was a relatively simple task for there was agreement about what characterized the "ideal type". This notion of the ideal type not only personified the values of that time but also determined the education to be received, so that an image of an Amazon Warrior or a Philosopher-King conjures up in your mind the appropriate education. "... it is patent that one cannot go about the business of education without some ideal of the educated man" (Nash, Kazamias & Perkinson, 1965, p.25).

In 1953, T.S. Eliot said

> "If education today seems to deteriorate, if it seems to become more and more chaotic and meaningless, it is primarily because we have no settled and satisfactory arrangement of society, and because we have both vague and diverse opinions about the kind of society we want." (T.S. Eliot in Hayward, 1953, p.221).

Senator John Button recognized the problem when he said that there was "The difficulty of defining an acceptable consensus about educational ends and means within this common culture." (Melbourne "Age" Sept. 11th, 1979). It would be tempting to attribute this difficulty to living in a pluralistic society, attempting to distil common elements and reform them in a new cultural coagulant. But the malaise seems to be more deep-seated, and what is perhaps more important, situated not in the present but in the future.

As Bundy (1976, p.86) put it, what holds a culture together is its myths and images of the future: "The beliefs held about what it means to be an educated person are intimately tied to the dominant vision inherent in the culture."

Almost daily we see evidence of not one but two conflicting visions of the Future Australia. The two sides could be labelled the "technocratic optimists" and the "scientific pessimists".

The technocratic optimists used to expansion and growth which they perceive as limitless, believe that this growth will continue. They assume never-ending material prosperity just as they assume never-failing global resources. Any reference to the possibility of the fossil-fuel depletion is always buttressed by comments like "Technology will find an answer - don't worry". It is not surprising therefore to see Australian Big Business supporting visits of futurologists like Herman Kahn who fluently tells them what they want to hear (see Kahn & Wiener, 1967). Nor is it surprising to read in the latest book by Kahn and Pepper that they advocate a lower rather than a higher tax on mineral resources and preferably no tax at all.

Imagine the situation where the same sponsors commissioned the scientific-pessimists, like the Club of Rome, who operate from different assumptions. They assume that energy and resources will become increasingly scarce and expensive, that if there is to be a new industrial revolution built around microprocessors as the technocratic optimists have suggested, then it will not be employment-producing but pollution-producing and energy-expensive.

The pessimistic view is perhaps more understandable after recent events in the Middle East. Again, petrol workers' strikes have given us a feel of what an energy-scarce life would be like. We don't really know how to cope with it, as the punch-ups in the petrol pumps showed.

Both the "superindustrial" and the "postindustrial" as Bundy (op. cit.) calls the technocratic-optimists and the scientific pessimists respectively are possible futures for Australia but what one needs to appreciate here is that the visions and the associated educational structures to support those visions are irreconcilable. The schools and post-secondary institutions to prepare people for the superindustrial world would be very different from the preparation needed for the postindustrial world. In the former, SUPERINDUSTRIAL, one would see an authoritarian highly organized and disciplined, competitive education worshipping consumerism in a high-energy, low-labour usage world, whereas in the latter, POSTINDUSTRIAL, one requires self-reliant, co-operative student-centred activities, not inculcating consumerism and expensively packaged everything, including education, but the use of group initiative and self-help, to fit into a low energy, labour-intensive, interpersonal society.

The thrust of this discussion is to impress upon you that a school or college instils particular values in its students and these values are derived from the dominant vision of the future, even though this may never be articulated.

Up to this point the writers quoted have assumed that the order of events is VISION → EDUCATION → DESIRED SOCIETAL ARRANGEMENT. While this is a rational approach, it has not been followed by Australian higher education. It would be more true to say that, in the past, education simply responded to societal pressures. For example the developments in admissions policies for mature age students and the various moves to introduce into senior school programmes, subjects like computer science and legal studies, could all be seen as reactions to society rather than educational innovations to change society towards a more preferred vision.

If, in times of growth and expansion, the various reactions brought about different types of education, conservative versus progressive, didactic versus discovery, for example, and these required different facilities and staff, it did not matter, for as King said:

> "In times of growth and expansion, the individuals and sub-groups who populate institutions and systems are inclined to accept and increase their own power bases in rather cavalier fashion. Furthermore, they are likely to be of friendly disposition, bordering on generosity, towards those who in different circumstances might be viewed as competitors. When growth has become a habit resentments are few and, during the 'power shower', friction is usually isolated to irregular demarcation problems" (King in Hore, Linke & West, 1978, p.68).

The trouble is that we are not in a time of growth and expansion, neither are we in a time when there is one preferred future, (no matter whether this future is based on hindsight or foresight).

Post secondary education, guided as it usually is by reflections in the rear vision mirror, or by cruising into the future facing backwards, served society very well in the past, for if the rear-vision reflection showed an unwanted maladaptive image, readjustments could be made. You could change horses in mid-stream. But now we are hurtling into the future, the stream is now a torrent so not only is change difficult, but more of the same, that is, another horse, is not the answer for the speed of change encompasses the rapid change of technology. A more up-to-date version of the analogy would be "If you try to change horses mid-torrent you will miss the jet-boat".

Because education cannot now react fast enough, crises develop.

The correlates of the problem can be seen in decreasing public confidence in the tertiary system, such as the perceptions of potential students that there are few benefits in pursuing a tertiary qualification, that it is not the route it once was to a better job and higher income. Another position taken, particularly by employers, is that the education provided is irrelevant to the tasks at hand. These feelings lead government to ask questions about how, and how well, the money allocated to education is spent, and therefore to seek greater control.

How is this control achieved? Well, as they say in South Australia, that is a bit of a TEASA*! Coordinating authorities, evaluative studies as suggested by the TEC, the State and Federal inquiries are examples of this increasing movement towards control. Inquiries have averaged one a year over the last twenty years with about two-thirds of them in the last decade.

One sociologist said "There is an inevitable tension between educational and administrative priorities and for the most part 'rationalisations' are likely to serve administrative rather than educational purposes" (Pusey, 1980). One should look at the move called "back to the basics" or sometimes "forward to the fundamentals" or "core curricula" from the view point of "control" and also from the position you adopt on the continuum discussed earlier, for what you perceive as the basics or the fundamentals will depend on your preferred vision.

There is little doubt that "Inflation and the attitudinal and value disarray . . . both dampen the spirit of adventure and hasten the flight into the bomb-shelters of tradition." (The Chronicle of Higher Education, Dec. 3, 1979, p.56).

A flight assisted by the stagnation of our institutions, with decreasing finances, an older and immobile staff becoming increasingly rigid and conservative. A back to the basics move in the form of a proposal for a core curriculum was attempted recently at Harvard. The idea was understandable but the outcome serves to make my point about confusion. Harvard faculty

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*Tertiary Education Authority of South Australia

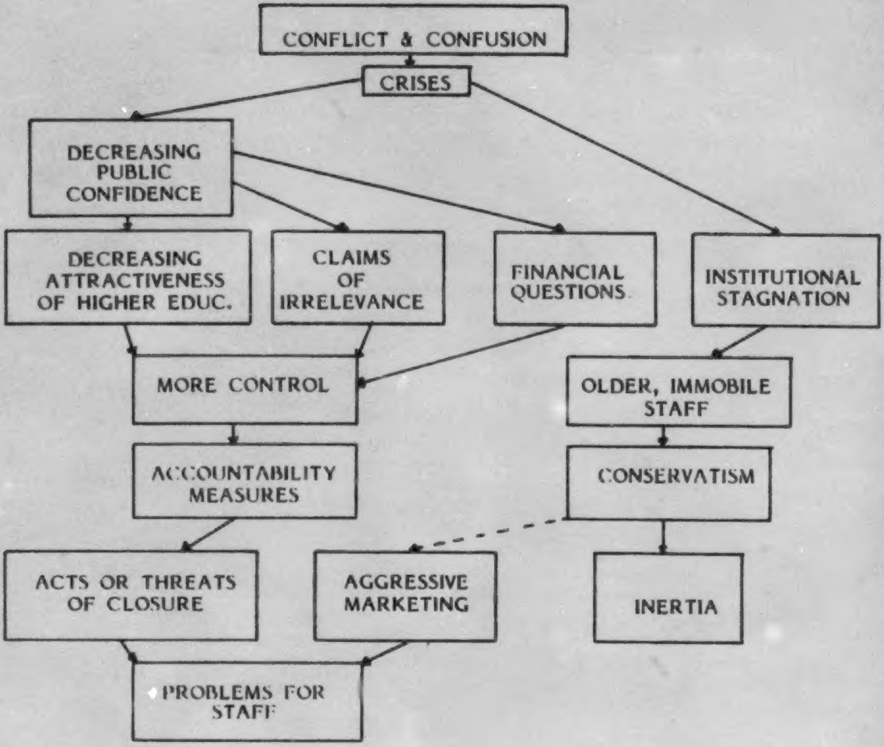
CONFLICT & CONFUSION
CRISES
DECREASING PUBLIC CONFIDENCE
DECREASING ATTRACTIVENESS OF HIGHER EDUC.
CLAIMS OF IRRELEVANCE
FINANCIAL QUESTIONS
INSTITUTIONAL STAGNATION
MORE CONTROL
OLDER, IMMOBILE STAFF
ACCOUNTABILITY MEASURES
CONSERVATISM
ACTS OR THREATS OF CLOSURE
AGGRESSIVE MARKETING
INERTIA
PROBLEMS FOR STAFF

Fig. 1

members were canvassed concerning their opinions on which works were indispensible to the formation of any educated person. Agreement was impossible - there was not a single book on which the faculty were able to concur.

Dean Rosovsky was reported as saying that

> "It is difficult for our professors to talk to one another. I don't mean about their subjects (which is impossible anyway), but about their lifestyles, their ambitions, their premises. Their values are all very different" (*Times Higher Education Supplement*, 8.2.80, p.11).

The American author (Rathbone) of the article which contained Rosovsky's quote said

> ". . . a general defect in contemporary American Society is that there is no current consensus on any conceivable issue and everything is basically in flux. With no centre of calm and no code of values universally acknowledged and adhered to, all that remains is the perpetual contest to keep ahead." (*ibid*, p.10).

So it is that we come to the lower section of Figure 1 where threats of closure, or actual closure, engenders either some defensive reaction on the part of an institution, or no acknowledgement by the institution that there is really any problem at all, what one writer calls "institutional sclerosis" (Klein, 1979).

I want to concentrate on one aspect of defensive reactions and that is aggressive marketing.

As one professor of social policy (Klein, *op cit.*) argued, the university world is becoming increasingly like the competitive, individualistic market economy of early capitalism. Competition occurs between individual academics for promotion and resources, between departments and between institutions.

We have seen some mild advertising from the University of Sydney and some colourful brochures from some colleges of advanced education, but nothing like the following examples from North America. North Kentucky State University planned on releasing 100 balloons filled with Scholarship offers! St.

Joseph's College of Indiana was promising undergraduates $100 rebates for every new student they signed up. Only the petrol crisis stopped the Director of Admissions at Trinity College, Texas buying a fully equipped motor-home as a mobile admissions office. For the Americans it is a question of MISSION, GOAL and PACKAGING. For mission, and goal you could put VISION. What worries me is that few Australian institutions have mission statements. Is their mision so well understood by themselves and the public that there is no need?

With current funding policies if advertising fails then one will see closures, 121 colleges have closed in the United States, over 30 teachers' colleges in England and only recently similar moves have been seen in some Australian states.

There are also problems if advertising succeeds. One professor of education at Syracuse, Joan Stark, foresaw regulations on truth-in-advertising, detailed investigations of institutions, refunds to students for inadequate services, warranty periods on purchased education, and even malpractice insurance for academic staff (Change, 1980, p.33).

Let me change tack a little in order to raise some problems for staff. These questions were raised in the April 21, 1980 issue of The Chronicle of Higher Education (page 64) by John B. Bennett:

"The first bind is a moral one", struggling to find a balance between candour and loyalty to the institution, the choice between honest gloom and unqualified optimism is not an easy one to make, and may demonstrate "an unnerving degree of unreality." "The second bind turns on the conflict between self-interest and professional commitment." "On the one hand" says Bennett "an institution in severe financial straits requires of its faculty an ever-increasing range of sacrifice ... (and) ... to continue doing the same good work they were doing before." "On the other hand one has responsibilities to oneself" and

Bennett questions whether going down with the ship is one of them. We have all seen the effects of the see-saw between fear of the next cut and relief when it's someone else! A situation "complicated by the occasional feeling that one's survival may be undeserved."

From a position of tenured security, senior staff see the problem as one of MERIT, whereas the short-term tutor sees it as principles of the MARKETPLACE.

To summarize the position so far

- education has tended to be reactive
- the present speed of change makes it difficult, if not impossible to react quickly enough, so
- conflicts and counter measures develop, some of which have been outlined, admittedly in extreme examples, but the potential for conflict is great if we use a "wait then react" strategy.

The realization that the question "Post secondary education for what?" is very difficult to answer implies that the rear-vision reflection is not the sort of reflection needed. What we need to do, is to reflect upon education taking a more active role in reducing the gap between the growing complexity of our world and our capacity to cope with it. This notion of the human gap is contained in a recent report to the Club of Rome (Botkin, Elmandjra & Malitza, 1979), which also introduced the notion of "innovative learning". Innovative learning is seen as a necessary means of preparing individuals and societies to act in new situations. Innovative learning is based on the pillar of anticipation, as opposed to "maintenance learning" which requires the acquisition of fixed outlooks, methods and rules for dealing with known and recurring situations.

I suggest that situations are unlikely to recur, or be known, in time for post-secondary institutions to react, therefore the stance to be adopted should be towards innovative learning and middle range planning so that the institutions can anticipate the "what".

If there is a continuum between the two views mentioned earlier the "technocratic-optimist" and the scientific-pessimist", a decision must be made about the preferred position on the continuum for the future of Australia.

The position and the width of the band are necessary precursors to a useful answer to the question "Post-secondary education for what?" and are the most critical issues for post-secondary education today, for a reactive stance can only lead to conflict.

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CHAPTER 1.2

POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE AUSTRALIAN ECONOMY OF THE EIGHTIES

BRIAN ABBEY

BACKGROUND

The recent sharp turn-around in the treatment accorded education by governments in Australia and other comparable capitalist/free enterprise societies has increased our understanding of the ways in which the extent to which society and education are linked. It seems appropriate, therefore, to begin by attempting to provide a synoptic overview of some of the major social, political and economic movements which have brought us to our present situation and which seem likely to shape the context in which education will evolve during the period under review.

If we go back to the Second World War - in fact back to about 1943 - we see that the nations who realised they were going to win that war then started planning to win the peace which would follow. They set up a quite remarkable international structure with agencies for settling political disputes, for conducting diplomatic relations, for negotiating commodity agreements, for managing migration and for consultation on tariffs and credit facilities: a great array of trading, political and diplomatic arrangements, which formed the foundation for the world structure in which we lived from the time of the late 'forties until the time of the late 'sixties or the early 'seventies.

This was an international structure which greatly facilitated the flow around the globe of people, goods and money. It provided the basis for the greatest boom in world trade that we have ever known, and the greatest boom that we are likely to experience during the foreseeable future. This post-war global order was designed to increase world trade and, at the same time, to recognize, develop and entrench the altered balance of international power which was the war's legacy. Both of these objectives were attained to an extraordinary degree.

The United States of America took the major initiatives in the design and construction of the world order, and occupied the most powerful position within it, with the rungs immediately below being occupied by the other industrialised countries. Below that, in a third tier, came the under-developed countries. The upper echelon exported capital and high technology manufactured goods, and imported raw materials. The under-developed countries played the opposite part. In the middle echelon, where Australia was situated, there was a combination of these roles, with the development of local manufacturing industry and raw materials exports. In our case both of these developments depended heavily on the entry of foreign-owned capital and large numbers of immigrants.

Australia shared in the profits from that phase. We became quite suddenly a fairly modern, industrialised, urban community. High rates of increase among the indigenous population, high levels of immigration, an influx of private foreign capital, an ambitious programme of government borrowing for infrastructure development, high prices for export commodities including the new mineral discoveries, and a high tariff barrier protecting both labour and capital from external competition - these were the ingredients of what we now look back to as the Long Boom (Rowley, 1976). The resulting expansion and diversification of the secondary and tertiary sections of the economy prompted a similar expansion and diversification of the post-secondary education system, designed to equip young people to compete within this type of society for the rewards it had to offer.

That world order lasted until the late 'sixties and early 'seventies when it collapsed and gave way to a period of renewed international suspicion and intensified competition which still continues. Just as we benefitted in various ways from the expansion of world trade and our changing role in it, so we are now feeling the effects of the collapse of pax Americana.

The most important single feature of the new phase has been the global redeployment of capital and the attendant industrial and social upheaval both in areas vacated and areas newly occupied. In broad terms, the movement of investment has been from the high-cost, unionised, liberal democracies to the cheap-labour, low-cost, laissez-faire/authoritarian nations of the less-developed world. A consequence has been the creation of new international markets in capital and labour, and this is having profound effects on the social fabric of all countries involved.

The Australian work-force, or large parts of it, thus finds itself thrown onto an emerging international labour-market, in competition against the world in respect of wages, conditions, skills and ability. The Australian Government (irrespective of party complexion) finds itself competing in the business of providing capital's infrastructure requirements, sundry incentives and inducements, and "a climate favourable to investors". Australian capital has a choice denied the other two players. It can move itself to the low-cost factories of Asia - which it has been doing at an increasing rate; or it can stay on its home ground and re-jig its operations, part of which must involve forcing down its labour and other costs. The resulting turmoil is known in Australia as "structural adjustment". There is likely to be a lengthy interregnum, and one must anticipate that the crisis will get worse before it gets better. But even if there were to be a sizeable and sustained international recovery now (the opposite is actually happening), Australia's role and share in it would almost certainly be very different from that of the 1947-72 period.

This upheaval, instigated by external developments, became the occasion and in part the cause for an intensification of struggle between the major classes and interests within Australia. This involves the attempted rolling back by Government and capital of the rewards and benefits gained by the work-force during the era of full-employment. Another part is the tightening of social discipline and the re-instatement of conservative mores.

Thus, Australian life is presently racked by the compounding effects of two historic struggles, neither of them freely recognized for what they are, despite the enormous toll they are taking of the majority of unwitting combatants. We are living through the global redeployment of capital and the emergence of a new international division of labour which will take away the established livelihoods of many of our people. And domestically we are witnessing a conservative counter-offensive designed to recapture command of political, economic and social ground ceded under pressure during the full-employment years of the nineteen-fifties, 'sixties and early nineteen-seventies.

These two upheavals have, as I said earlier, compounded one another. The period of dislocation and uncertainty thus produced has given rise to an attempt to comprehensively re-design the structure, foundations and processes of Australian capital and a corresponding attempt to re-design Australian society.

We may think of this process of re-design as having two forms. The formal and deliberate part is made up of the succession of commissions of enquiry, official surveys and reports, the new planning and management bodies which are being set up - and conferences like the one we're attending. The informal but no less important part of the process goes on around us every day as apparently discrete and contingent developments with a multitude of guises hiding from us the pattern which alone can make sense of the whole. The shower of bankruptcies, mergers and take-overs, the shadow of embezzlements and other misappropriations, the shock of redundancies; these are the unplanned but highly significant day-by-day steps in the progressive re-configuration of Australian capital.

The changes to the system of health care, the impending change in the social welfare system, the current enquiry into the banking system and capital market, the appearance in embryo of manpower planning in the fields of general scientific and medical research, the halting steps towards a national energy plan - not to mention the numerous recent and current enquiries into the school systems, technical and further education, apprentice training, teacher preparation, and the universities; these are all parts of the re-design of our social system to match that more basic transformation of our productive system and its international connections.

We can see with some clarity now what the future Australian economy is going to be like. We are in a situation where we have a fairly rapidly declining manufacturing sector; the parts of it that remain are likely to be fairly capital-intensive, and likely to require fewer but highly-skilled workers. We are going to have a strong but mainly foreign-owned and capital-intensive mining sector. We are going to have a highly-concentrated, mechanised, export-oriented rural sector. (With food becoming so important in the world, the movement of foreign capital into Australian food-producing industries is something that can be anticipated). And we are going to have an increasingly capital-intensive tertiary, or services and public sector. No sphere of Australian life is likely to escape unmarked. Oliver Goldsmith's "The Deserted Village", which chronicles the social effects of an earlier phase of capitalism's restless growth, might be made required reading. I don't know whether there is still time for the Lucky Country to learn from the fate of "Sweet Auburn, loveliest village of the plain", but educators will at least have the chance to ponder the relevance of the links between the education system and structural change in the economy.

APPROACHES

Having attempted to sketch what I take to be the overall shape of our present situation and the dynamic which has brought us to this point, I now turn to the task of outlining a perspective on the future of the economy as it is likely to bear on the future of post-secondary education.

In confronting this task one immediately confronts some knotty conceptual questions. How in general does one conceptualise the links between education and the economy? For that matter, what precisely is the economy? As obvious and as inescapable as these questions might seem one would have to conclude that most of the writing in the area has been done by people who seemed intent on avoiding them altogether or making the encounter as brief as possible.

One of the striking things about Australian education studies is that the economists have rarely bothered with the broader historical evolution of the system they study, perhaps not surprisingly, since their work is conceived and presented as a management tool. Such an approach usually confines itself to conjuring with quantitative variations and regards the economy as rather like an impenetrable black box, somehow divorced from society, which can be observed to turn inputs into outputs by mysterious (and probably irrelevant) means, but at historically measurable rates. Meanwhile the historians and sociologists of education have not equipped themselves at all to understand the links between changes in the education system and changes in its politico-economic context.

This is not the place for a full-scale theoretical excursion, and yet one can't avoid taking positions, at least implicitly, in the course of discussing issues. The solution adopted here is to indicate briefly the conception of the economy which is being used - this is done mainly by reference to other work - before going on to point to some of the big issues which are on the economic agenda and which are likely to influence the context within which post-secondary education will evolve.

The collapse of what is taken for granted always helps to de-mystify human affairs and to resurrect forgotten questions: choice seems possible again, even necessary, and we see the agents whose interaction has been responsible for producing what had seemed the natural order of things. Not the least significant by-product of the break-down of the established economic systems of western capitalism has been a renewed interest in political economy. (Hunt & Schwarz, 1972; Wheelwright & Buckley, 1975)

Where conventional economic theory focusses on the sphere of distribution and takes its models and maxims from the market, political economy looks first at the more durable and generative relationships which make up the system of production (Eaton, 1963), and finds there rules and rhythms which reverberate not only through the economy but in other aspects of the life of society.

Political economists see the economy as one aspect of the complex of relationships between labour and capital, and are sensitive to the inevitable conflict of interests which is inherent in all aspects of that complex of relations, including education. (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; White, 1972) The state is seen as an integral part, as both medium and limitation, of that conflict. (Holloway & Picciotto, 1978; Fine and Harris, 1979)

THE ECONOMY : THREE ISSUES

(i) **Protection**

Our colonial origins and permanent semi-colonial status have ensured that the "Protection-Free Trade" question would never be far below the surface of

Australian political debate. The solution coined after the Second World War dissolved the dilemma neatly by inviting the most powerful blocks of foreign capital to manufacture here inside tariff walls which ensured them easy profitability, left local capital plenty of opportunities to prosper and expand its sphere of activities, and guaranteed plenty of jobs at wage rates uninfluenced by overseas conditions.

That phase is now at an end and the parties to the coalition which supported it - foreign capital, local capital and the trade unions in the manufacturing sector - are now being drawn their separate ways. This is part of the process of the global redeployment of capital referred to earlier. For foreign capital the decision appears to be easy: world-wide rationalisation based on comparative advantage and freer trade. The larger units of Australian capital, themselves increasingly trans-national in character, seem prepared to accept this as inevitable and are now well along with their process of adaptation, which often entails winding down their manufacturing activities and moving into consortia to exploit the mineral and energy resources in which Australia is so rich. The smaller Australian capitalists are fighting a rear-guard action to keep up levels of protection, and the political sensitivity of the unemployment issue is giving them an influence disproportionate to their raw economic power. Only the more progressive and far-sighted unions have yet recognised the full significance of the question, and this awareness appears not to extend far into the ranks of their membership at this stage: none, with the possible exception of the A.M.W.S.U., has so far developed a comprehensive and coherent policy line (A.M.W.S.U., undated, pp. 18-19).

The politics of protection is murky indeed and experience shows that change is usually slow. But the period we are entering is unlike any other in our experience, not least because of the extraordinary rate of development of our links with the ASEAN countries (Hyde 1978; Bureau of Industry Economics 1978). The new coalition of interests is now in its formative stage. Whether change is rapid and sweeping or drawn-out and piecemeal, it seems certain that the outcome of the tariff battle will unleash powerful forces for the re-structuring of the system of production.

If we will allow that the re-structuring of the economy between the nineteen-thirties and 'fifties lead to quite new demands being made of the education system, then we must acknowledge that the rate and direction of the economic restructuring which will occur in the next two decades is likely to be just as influential for education (Crawford, 1979, Chapter 12).

(ii) Overseas Investment

A second general economic question, very closely related to the first, concerns the role to be allowed to foreign capital.

As is well known, the post World War II period has seen Australia become very heavily dependent on the inflow of private investment capital. The overall rate of inflow at any time has a powerful effect on Australia's aggregate economic performance, and the areas chosen for investment and development may have a powerful influence on the complexion of Australian life. Our dependence on foreign-owned capital made us vulnerable to what amounted to a flight of capital in the early 'seventies, apparently prompted by the election of the Whitlam Labor Government.

YEAR	% of Private Investment funded by overseas companies	% of Company Income payable overseas
1966/67	21.0	23.2
1967/68	37.6	28.8
1968/69	33.6	27.4
1969/70	29.9	26.4
1970/71	40.3	29.4
1971/72	39.7	27.3
1972/73	12.3	32.5
1973/74	8.0	36.5
1974/75	15.2	52.7
1975/76	11.0	55.2

(A.M.W.S.U. p.9)

Both the question under consideration here, and the question of protection, have to do with the on-going process of integrating Australia into the world economy. That process has been going ahead for a long time, and no foreseeable turn of events will undo or dramatically reverse this trend. The question which can sensibly be asked and which will bear on the future of post-secondary education is: at what rate, under what pressures, and on precisely what terms will the further integration of the Australian economy into the world economy proceed? (Wheelwright 1978).

The current clamour for overseas investment capital carries no evidence that the electorate or either of the major political parties is prepared to ensure that the vulnerability of our political and social institutions will not be as great in future.

(iii) Public Sector Provision

A third general issue which promises to increase in importance during the eighties is the struggle over the size and shape of the public sector. The past couple of years have seen forceful efforts made by conservative interest groups and conservative governments to discredit and cut-back the public sector (O'Connor 1973). This has been a central thrust of the conservative counter-offensive referred to earlier in this paper.

This campaign has made clever play with these popular though mistaken beliefs:-

- that Australia puts an inordinate amount of its annual income through its public sector;
- that the bulk of these funds are paid as hand-outs to individuals who are undeserving for one reason or another;
- that these funds are somehow then lost to the normal economic process;

- that inordinate levels of taxation are imposed on the community to maintain this public sector activity;
- and that the growing weight of this tax burden on profits in particular has been a significant factor in reducing economic activity, causing unemployment and, in turn, reducing the funds available for the provision of public facilities and services.

The facts are quite different.

When Australia's total public sector outlays are expressed as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and then compared to the same measure for the Organization for Economic and Cultural Development (OECD) members we find that Australia, at 31 per cent in 1973-75, ranks below the average, which was 40 per cent for the same period. (Public Sector Research Co-operative, p.6)

Turning to transfer payments to individuals, we find the level of social welfare payments in Australia is rather low compared to those in most other OECD member countries. According to Harris and Grewal (1977. p.33), Australian spending on social security cash-benefit programs actually declined as a percentage of GDP from 7.5 per cent in 1961 to 6.7 per cent in 1971, and, when public welfare expenditure did rise later in the 'seventies, it did so at a rate considerably lower than the corresponding OECD average. (Jones, M.A. 1980, Table 3.2, p. 46) Overall, cash benefits to residents in 1978-79 accounted for 24.2 per cent of public sector outlays (Indecs Economics, 1980, p. 117), with the bulk of the increase in recent years accounted for by rising numbers drawing unemployment benefit.

The concept of the social wage, while problematical in some respects, provides some useful guidance in this area: Evan Jones' calculation, (1979, pp.40-41) incorporating real expenditure on education, health, social security, housing, urban and regional development, culture and recreation, shows a total reduction of $4.2 billion over the period June 1976 to June 1979, with the social wage dropping from 51.9 per cent of total public expenditure in 1975-76 to 47.4 per cent in 1978-79.

In the matter of public sector capital expenditure, where the cuts have been sharpest:

> ". . . capital expenditure of education, health and housing have all fallen as a proportion of total capital expenditures. The switch has been towards capital expenditure on economic services, at the expense of more socially oriented expenditures" (Indecs Economics, 1980, pp. 117-118).

When total taxation receipts are expressed as a percentage of GDP and comparisons made with other OECD members, one finds that overall tax levels in Australia are not especially high (Jones, M.A., 1980, p. 44). Neither can it be maintained that companies are bearing an increasing share of the tax burden: the reverse is true (Indecs Economics, 1980, p. 118; A.M.W.S.U., 1979, pp. 26-68). Substantial concessions, amounting to perhaps one-third of potential company tax receipts in 1978, have been made by the present Federal Government.

Moreover, revisions within the private income tax structure have been decidely regressive, favouring the higher-income brackets and further weakening the claim that "incentive" is being dampened. (Australian Parliamentary Library, 1979). The rise in indirect tax receipts only accentuates this trend: for example, the oil levy, which, at approximately $2500 million this year, will contribute about 8 per cent of total taxation receipts this year against 2.2 per cent in 1972-3 (Indecs Economics, 1980, p. 118).

That the onslaught on the "Welfare State" is based on myth and misrepresentation hasn't stopped it being influential and we must expect that there will be well-supported attempts to further reduce the funds available for publicly-supported activities. It is reasonable to surmise that post-secondary education will be expected to accept its share of those cuts still to come.

IMPACT ON POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION: THREE ISSUES

The outcome of the battles - for battles they will be - around these issues will play a large part in moulding the general economic context throughout the 'eighties, and will determine the distribution of economic power. In particular decisions in these areas will affect the aggregate level of performance of the economy, the type and variety of economic activities conducted in Australia, the degree to which the direction of those activities is controlled by Australian interests, the shares of the cake going to various groups, and the mechanisms for determining and delivering those shares.

In turn it will be within that framework that certain crucial questions affecting post-secondary education will be shaped and answered. Let me move on to select three of those questions for closer attention.

(i) Demand for Educated Labour

Probably the most obvious way in which the general economic setting impacts on post-secondary education is via the demand for trained labour. Total demand, types of qualifications in demand and the market for recurrent education in the refresher or re-training courses will vary depending on the type of future we find ourselves in.

A just-published work which conjures with some of these questions is Australia at the Cross-roads: Our Choices to the Year 2000 (Kasper, Blandy, Freebairn, Hocking and O'Neill, 1980). This work, which produces some very challenging conclusions and prescriptions, seems likely to achieve the status of manifesto, especially among big business interests. While the book seems naive in its politics and somewhat myopic in its sociology, its clarity about what the big questions are and its aggressive optimism about the likely consequences of following the "free market" road are likely to win for it a good deal of influence.

The authors develop their case by setting out two possible scenarios; one, the Mercantilist future, is characterised by, inter alia, a continuation of present tariff policies, of existing patterns of public provision in the areas of education, health and welfare, of existing systems of wage fixing and of controlled capital markets. The other possible future, labelled the Libertarian scenario, features none of these things. Instead, under the Libertarian system, which the authors are advocating, the free market is allowed to sort out supply and demand questions in almost all areas of social life.

Econometric exercises are then carried out on current or recent data and the two contrasting projections are then compared. One of the specific projections made concerns the demand for educated manpower. The authors conclude that -

> "...under our low-growth Mercantilist scenario there will be 1971-style jobs for only 280,000 graduates (out of a total graduate labour force of between 800,000 and one million). Three-quarters of graduates seeking work in Australia in the year 2000 will only be able to find it in "worse" jobs (on average) than they typically held in 1971" (p.203; emphasis added).

By contrast, they hold that if the Libertarian-type policies are adopted, and the consequent flexibility results in higher growth rates, it will be only two-thirds of graduates who will be unable to find the sort of work that graduates did in 1971.

My point is not to highlight the immediately shocking suggestion that, even on optimistic projections, the graduate labour market will be so glutted; it is rather to highlight the possible differences in outcome depending on the nature of macro-economic decision making. If we adopt the mid-point of Williams' projections for graduate labour supply for the year 2,000 (Williams, 1979) then the difference in the scale of un - or under-employment for graduates between the two scenarios is approximately 99,000.

I ought to stress again that in referring to Australia at the Cross-roads and its contrasting projections I am not in any way endorsing either the analysis or preferences it stands for. The work simply provides a glimpse of how the way we resolve some of our major politico-economic choices may impact on our post-secondary education system, and does this in a rather more accessible and challenging (albeit somewhat utopian) way than has the Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Education and Training (Williams, 1979).

(ii) Research Services

The systematic study of the production and distribution of research knowledge in Australia has only recently been begun. The Department of Science's Project SCORE, (Survey and Comparisons of Research Expenditures), measures the financial and manpower resources devoted to research and experimental development. The survey was first undertaken for the year 1968-69 and has been repeated, with refinements, three times since. This history of neglect, indicative of the social and economic role allotted to research in the past, is fast being left behind as Australia moves towards a science policy. Directly and indirectly, these developments will involve the post-secondary sector - ready or not.

Overall, the Australian effort in research and development does not rank well when compared to other OECD countries. The nation most like Australia in terms of population and GDP per capita, is the Netherlands. In 1975 the Netherlands spent about 22 per cent more per capita on research and development in the natural sciences than Australia. But Netherlands gross expenditure on research and development in the natural sciences, expressed as a percentage of GDP in 1975 was however more than twice the Australian figure (Jessop, 1979, pp.77-78). Moreover, between 1973-74 and 1976-77, gross expenditure on research and development in Australia as a percentage of GDP fell from 1.29 per cent of GDP to 0.97 per cent of GDP, a reduction of 25 per cent (Jessop, 1979, p.52).

Australia is a net importer of technology: in 1965-66 we paid overseas $46 million more for royalties and copyrights than we collected. That is to say we ran a deficit on our technological balance of payments. By 1974-75 our deficit had grown to $66 million.

Given that Australia will need to develop a strong science-technology base for specialised industrial developments if it is not to finish as a quarry surrounded by an oil slick, these figures would suggest that there is scope for an expanded research effort.

The contribution to research and development by the private enterprise sector of the economy has fallen sharply in real terms in recent years. Among OECD countries, on the 1975 figures, only Iceland, Portugal and New Zealand had a lower percentage contribution from the private sector (Jessop, 1979, Table 4.14, p. 83). This probably indicates that the concealed public subsidy channelled through the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization (CSIRO) and government departments is so generous as to render major private effort superfluous.

It may also suggest something of the consequences of the dominance of foreign capital in the high-technology parts of the manufacturing sector, where one would normally expect the bulk of private sector research and development expenditure to take place. Multi-national companies ordinarily concentrate their basic research effort in the home country. It is nevertheless the case they have come to be in control of a disproportionate share of the research and development work carried out in the private sector in Australia. The census of scientific research carried out by Project SCORE (1976, pp. 87-93) showed that, on the 1973-74 figures, that expenditure on in-house research by medium and large private concerns totalled $180 million. Of that $110 million, roughly 70 per cent, was spent by companies controlled by overseas interests. This is an aspect of our dependence and an index of our vulnerability which bears careful consideration when we are planning where and by whom the national research effort will be carried out.

The total government sector (State and Federal, excluding higher education) provided 64 per cent of the total available research funding in 1973-74. About 70 per cent of the Federal money is spent via the CSIRO and the Department of Defence. The panel of OECD science policy examiners who studied the Australian situation found the predominance of governments, as both source of funds and performers of research, the most striking feature of the local scene. They observed that few OECD could match Australia in this respect; those that do - Spain Greece, Portugal and Ireland - have very different economic and social structures.

It is not possible to do more than indicate a few of the many questions which arise naturally out of the information presented above. If the existsing effort requires expansion, where will the additional work be undertaken? Who might provide the funds? Who would nominate the areas for investigation? Does the existing structure suggest there may be current social needs which go unrecognised and unmet? Is there scope for post-secondary education institutions to expand their research activites? Quite obviously, the answers to these questions will be affected by, and will in turn affect, the structure and general performance of the economy.

(iii) Equality

I observed earlier that we are in the middle of a conservative counter-offensive that aims at re-capturing territory lost during the Long Boom. This process seems set to restore as far as possible inequalities of access in the education system. The success of this particular campaign will be determined in part by how the solutions to those basic economic questions affect the distribution of economic power.

The inequalities built into Australian education have been rehearsed too often to need spelling out here (Gilmour and Lansbury, 1979). It can't be said that these were greatly eroded during the period of progressive advance, so far as we know; but that needn't make a counter-offensive fruitless.

We have seen the contraction of funds going to migrant, aboriginal and special education; we've seen the pegging of Tertiary Education Assistance Scheme allowances which has lead to a decline in their real value, so that those students without personal or family resources to call upon are especially disadvantaged; and we've seen the same restriction affecting post-graduate allowances.

The pegging of recruitment to the upper reaches of the post-secondary system will also further restrict the likelihood of equality of access. Indeed, one is entitled to presume that the drift in most states to private secondary schools, which have always supplied a disproportionate number of post-secondary students, reflects an awareness of the new situation among those elements of the population able to spend their way out of our present socio-economic difficulties. The diversion to the private schools of a larger share of a shrinking Federal education budget and the abandonment of needs-level funding should also be mentioned in this connection.

The Williams Committee's recommendations to define more strictly the respective roles of the parts of the post secondary education system have also been seen by various commentators as likely to reinforce the stratification which exists in the system (Butler, 1979). The experience of passing in so short a time from Karmel's optimistic and imaginative approaches to the educationally disadvantages (Karmel, 1973) to Williams' perfunctory and patchy treatment of "access" (Williams, 1979, Chap. 11) may drive home some lessons about the relationship of the education system and the well-springs of social inequality. One can't help being afraid that the political economy of the '80s will underscore and amplify those lessons again and again.

EDUCATION: INTO THE ECONOMY

Whichever way these large choices go it seems certain that the post secondary education system will continue and accelerate in the paths which have integrated it more closely into the economic system.

The market's principles and practices have been on a relentless, if uneven, search-and-destroy mission in the various realms of Western culture for several hundred years now. They have entered, conquered and transformed one department of life after another, rendering each more amenable to the rules of exchange-for-monetary-gain between supposedly free and equal contractors, and thus rendering each more vulnerable to the dialectical ebb-and-flow of the overriding markets in the ultimate commodities, labour power and capital. Leisure time, organised games (even cricket!), the constitution of the self, the family and higher education are all areas where the spirit of the market has extended its reach quite markedly in recent times.

The frank expression in the Martin Report (Martin, 1964 & 1965) of its underpinning theory, human capital theory, shocked and offended many people connected with post-secondary education at the time precisely because of the apparent profanity of importing the instrumental logic of the market into consideration of an activity thought to be quite adequately understood and defended by reference to its intrinsic worthwhileness and character-forming capabilities.

How things have changed in the past two decades may be gauged from the reaction to Williams Report published last year. While that Report attracted a good deal of criticism from commentators of all persuasions, nobody, so far as I'm aware, thought it worth complaining about the fact that the Report's perspective on education was anchored in and structured by the discourse of economic calculation.

It might be said that where once education's goals were cast more in terms of society's cultural ideals, thus rendering an indirect service to the politico-economic structure, it is now the case that education's goals are increasingly rendered more-or-less directly in the language of the economy because that has become the dominant cultural discourse. This has the effect of making the link between economic thought and goals and educational thought and goals much closer, whilst cloaking the latter, and the link between the two, with the same patina of objectivity and matter-of-factness possessed by the former In other words, the more pronounced this effect becomes the easier it is to believe that ideological/philosophical contention has given way to quasi-technical debate on ways and means; or at least, that debates about ends must be determined ultimately by reference to the dictates of "economic reality".

In my view the highest challenge facing teachers and administrators in the post-secondary education system will be whether they can develop a workable, critical grasp of the structures of economic power sufficient to win for themselves, their institutions and their students, the latitude to open and democratize learning in an undemocratic and divisive economy.

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CHAPTER 1.3

THE DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL CONTEXT OF TERTIARY EDUCATION

ROBERT BIRRELL

The purpose of this paper is to examine the major demographic constraints on the future of tertiary education in Australia this century. The focus will be primarily on the numbers issue but some comment is offered on the type of tertiary education these numbers will be seeking. I will begin with that "hard" data we have on the issue, then progressively move into the softer terrain of the economic and social setting within which future demographic developments will occur.

The immediate demographic future is relatively clear. Because of the slight drop in the number of births in Australia in the early 1960s, if there is no change in participation rates, enrolments in tertiary education will drop slightly between 1981 and 1986. Then, reflecting a brief upsurge in births in the late 1960s, the numbers will increase until the early 1990s, after which they will decline significantly due to the drop in births since 1971, to end up at a lower level at the end of the century than in 1991. However, with immigration continuing at around net 50,000 per annum, again assuming participation rates remain constant, there would be no actual fall in numbers in the early 1980s and only a slight decline in the 1990s (National Population Inquiry, 1975).

Until recently these demographic limitations were not seen as likely to stop continued growth in the tertiary education system since participation rates were expected to rise reflecting, amongst other factors, increased demand for tertiary trained manpower with further economic growth. This was assumed by the National Population Inquiry, where enrolments were projected to increase by 25 per cent between 1976 and 1981 (ibid, p. 397), (mainly because of increased participation rates). It now seems the increase will be more like 10 per cent over this five year period, with practically no growth envisaged between 1980 and 1981.

The education industry is now wondering uneasily whether this new trend heralds a fundamental change in the attraction of tertiary education - both to governments as regards finance for expansion, and students as regards their estimates of the worth of the higher education experience. Clearly, these factors will be just as important in shaping future trends as the numbers in the appropriate tertiary age cohort. But before examining these issues there are some points of uncertainty about the size of the population base from which tertiary students will be drawn which need exploring.

Births

While births are not a central issue in that almost all those to enter tertiary education in the next twenty years are already born, future birth movements will have an indirect effect by their impact on the demand for tertiary trained teachers. This occupation has in the recent past constituted the major outlet. for graduates. On theoretical grounds there would seem to be a strong case for predicting a further slow fall in the number of births per Australian woman. Opportunities continue to grow for women outside the housewife-mother role, and social attitudes appear to be changing towards making such alternatives, including the career woman role, more legitimate. Poor economic conditions seem unlikely to alter this picture. Even though these have limited expansion in female job opportunities, consumption standards once raised seem not to be quickly forgotten. This appears to give extra motivation to couples to avoid child bearing if it will mean additional burdens to any loss of expected wifely job earnings. Perhaps reflecting these factors total births fell slightly again in 1979 - despite the increasing number of young women in the peak child bearing years. On the other hand, the most recent data on Australian birth expectations, collected in June 1979 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1979a), shows Australian married women expecting on average to have 2.5 children over their child bearing lives - the same figure recorded in November 1976. These figures imply some delay in births. If made up later this could provide a brief spurt in birth numbers. Overall however, I believe the balance of forces on child bearing decisions will produce a slight reduction in preferred and actual numbers of births per woman.

Immigration

This appears to be a more volatile and important element in the short term. Most current population projections assume a figure of net 50,000 immigration continued through to the end of this century, however the Liberal/National Country Party government has recently announced a target of net 240,000 to 250,000 for the three years 1980-81 to 1982-83 (or net 80,000 plus per year). Should this be maintained then instead of Australia's population growing by 1.3 million from immigration to the year 2001 as anticipated in most current projections (i.e. from net 50,000 per annum) it will grow by about 2.1 million. But this is not the end of it. The Federal Department of Immigration's stated aim is to maintain growth from immigration at 0.5 per cent per annum (MacKellar, 1979). If achieved this would lead to a net population increase from immigration between 1980 and 2001 of some 2.7 million. The impact on this on higher education enrolments would be quite significant - since a high proportion of migrants are in the 15 to 24 year old age bracket. It is doubtful whether this 0.5 per cent target will be achieved, since when and if the Australian Labour

Party gets into power it will probably pursue much lower targets, as was the case through 1972 to 1975. Still it is time educationalists and other planners recognised that the immigration assumptions built into the National Population Inquiry and recent Australian Bureau of Statistics projections may be obsolete. Also the current increase in immigration even if only maintained for a few years, will significantly increase the supply of tertiary trained labour in Australia and this will effect both the need for expansion in the training of residents and their judgements as to the pay-offs from higher education.

FACTORS SHAPING HIGHER EDUCATION PARTICIPATION RATES

We now turn to the issue of potential students' interest in higher education and the government's willingness to provide the finance to cater for this interest. This is an enormous field - impossible to cover fully in this paper. I will therefore concentrate my comments on aspects influenced by demographic factors. As is the practice of demographers I want to explore how far demographic factors may shape the reactions of potential students and government before turning to some final comments on the social and economic scene which appear to be relatively independent of demographic developments.

The Attraction of Investment in Tertiary Education to Government

The current Australian government is clearly dubious about the economic returns from further investment in "human capital" via education. Unless there is a change in this attitude higher education is in for a sustained drought of development funds. The prospects are not favourable. This derives fundamentally from the recent dramatic increase in the supply of tertiary trained manpower. This increase has led to the rapid filling up of what, through the 1950s and 1960s, had come to be thought of as chronic shortages of professional manpower. Such has been the rate of growth on the supply side that some significant oversupply would have occurred even if there had been no major recession during the 1970s. The graduate labour market is now more a replacement, marginal growth market rather than a "catch up" chronic shortage market. With the supply side still oriented to demand expectations dating back to the "catch up" phase, supply is likely to continue in excess for several years.

This oversupply situation has helped puncture the favourable attitude to education (especially higher technical education) in government and business circles during the 1960s. The attitudes expressed in the Martin Report (Martin, 1964, Chap. 5) which led to the great expansion in the CAEs encapsulates this evaluation. "Education should be regarded as an investment which yields direct and significant economic benefits through increasing the skill of the population and through accelerating technological progress. The Committee believes that economic growth is dependent on high and advancing levels of education."

There has long been grounds for doubting such clear cut links between education and economic growth given the relatively derivative nature of the Australian economy with most of its manufacturing technology being supplied through multi-national corporations - and most of its high technology goods (computers, electric turbines, etc.) imported. Still, as long as economic growth and education expenditures continued in tandem there was at least a plausible case that they were causally related. These linkages do not appear evident today. It is quite obvious that rapid economic growth in the mineral, mineral processing and agricultural fields can occur with little expansion in tertiary trained manpower (except in a few specialist areas and during the construction phase of second mining boom projects). Moreover, a surplus of demanding articulate graduates has now come to be seen by some as a positive hindrance to trouble free economic growth. Since the graduate surplus problem is not likely to disappear quickly such attitudes could intensify and harden - with serious consequences for higher education finance.

The Supply of Graduates

The graduate oversupply problem is just one component of the massive expansion in school leaving numbers since the late 1960s. The number of leavers from school and higher education increased from an average of 175,000 per annum in 1965-70 to 223,000 in 1971-76 and 288,400 in 1979. (Australian Bureau of Statistics, various issues of "Leavers from schools, universities, or other educational institutions".) The numbers of tertiary trained have increased even faster than this as those "stored up" in the system through increased retention rates in the late 1960s and early 1970s have finally emerged onto the job market. The total number of graduates and diploma holders at all levels increased from 45,698 in 1973 to 66,348 in 1978, of whom about 49,000 attempted to enter the labour force in 1979 (Lawson, 1980, p. 2). Further increases are inevitable for several years even given the current stabilisation of total student numbers, because the impact of expanding commencements in the mid 1970s (particularly in the CAEs) is still to be worked through the system.

As indicated above they will be entering a job market which has caught up with past shortages, and which in one major area, teaching, is not even providing much expansion from incremental growth. They will also be competing with an expanding intake of tertiary trained immigrants. This aspect is worth emphasising as it is often ignored in considerations of this issue.
Though many people appear to believe the immigration intake has been focused on unskilled migrants, in fact since the late 1960s it has increasingly been oriented to recruitment of tertiary trained manpower, and this is expected to continue. Between 1971 and 1976 the net settler gain in the professional category was 32,589, a large figure by any standards. In fact the rapidity with which gaps in the Australian graduate labour market were filled in the 1970s owes much to this intake. For example there was a massive inflow of teachers,

in the early 1970s, when in just four years - 1970 to 1973 - 10,080 settlers arrived with this occupation. More recently the huge intake of doctors and nurses, (721 of the former, and 1,239 of the latter arrived in 1977-78) helps explain the rapid contraction in opportunities in Australia for these two professions.

For the immediate future, with net immigration targeted at just over 80,000 per annum this will mean the addition of some 40,000 migrant workers to a domestic labour force growing by about 90,000 per annum. Given that the increase in the intake will come mainly from those recruited under the general eligibility programme - which favours those with tertiary education - some 20 to 25 per cent of the total settler intake is likely to be in the professional and technical category. Indicative of this ratio is the fact that 23.5 per cent or 10.9 thousand of the 46.4 thousand migrants arriving in the period 1978 to February 1979 and entering the Australian labour force possessed a degree or equivalent (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1976b). Under the net 80,000 target this means a net intake of 8 to 10 thousand migrants with such skills will enter the labour force annually in the next few years. Since the current selection system, Numerical Multi-Factor Assessment System (NUMAS), favours English-speaking, tertiary trained migrants, and conversely gives little weight to occupational scarcity within Australia, it is likely that many of these professionals will add to existing oversupplies. In the case of the substantial New Zealand intake, on which there are no controls this appears inevitable. In fact it is likely that Australia will primarily receive graduates who are surplus in Great Britain, South Africa, New Zealand and so on for much the same reason they are surplus in Australia, i.e. that the higher education system in these countries too has been swollen by the post World War II baby boom generation and has exceeded the capacity of the market to provide appropriate jobs. It is these "surplus" graduates, not the "in demand" specialist engineers or fitters and turners who seek to enter Australia. This may explain how according to Immigration Department records 421 school teachers arrived in 1978-79 (a low intake year compared with what is to come) along with 40 social workers, 145 professors and lecturers, and 38 editors-journalists, all as settlers. This is to name just a few of the categories arriving in which there is already an oversupply within Australia.

The Teaching Situation

This aspect is worth some detailed attention because of the enormous significance of teaching as an employer of graduates in Australia. During the mid 1970s up to 40 per cent of university graduates were being employed in education (Birrell, 1978). This has continued to be the case to the end of the 1970s with about 19,692 of the 49,000 university and CAE graduates seeking work in 1979 obtaining employment in the education sector (Lawson, op. cit., p. 3). This situation reflects the past rapid growth in school numbers and decline in class sizes, as well as the relatively limited demand for professionals in Australia in the manufacturing, mining and agricultural industries, as mentioned above. Table 1 gives a rough indication of the numerical significance of teaching as a source of employment.

Table 1. Employment by Occupation. Australia 1974 and 1979

Occupation	000's August '74	 August '79	Increase '74 to '79
Professional, Technical & Related Occupations	718.7	836.6	117.9
Teachers	205.3	262.8	57.5
Total employed labour force	5885.2	6041.5	186.3

Source. A.B.S., The Labour Force, Unpublished statistics.

As can be seen, nearly half the increase in employment in the professional and technical category (the main outlet for graduates) was due to growth in teaching, most of which would be at primary and secondary level. Overall, 31 per cent of the total net increase in jobs in Australia over the five year period was attributable to teaching.

Plainly, this pattern of growth is now at an end. Even with some increase in participation rates for pupils over the compulsory schooling age group it is inevitable there will be an overall drop in the combined primary and secondary enrolment in Australian schools during the 1980s. This drop began in 1978, continued in 1979, and according to the latest projection from the Commonwealth Department of Education, will reach its lowest point in 1988, when overall numbers will be 138,214 less than in 1979 or a drop of 4.6 per cent. Thereafter the numbers are expected to begin increasing again with the expected increase in births during the 1980s and by the year 2000 will substantially exceed the 1980 figure (Commonwealth Department of Education, 1980). The implications for new teaching opportunities are severe. According to the most recent estimates of the Tertiary Education Commission, the demand for additional teachers over the next five years will only be about 13,000 per year. In comparison, the output of pre-service primary and secondary teachers reached 17,450 in 1979 and is projected at 15,900 in 1980, 14,700 in 1981, 13,500 in 1982, 12,800 in 1983 and 12,200 in 1984. In addition there will be many former teachers and arriving immigrants seeking to enter teaching (Data from Hansard, House of Representatives, May 22, 1980, pp. 3159-3160).

The Graduate Job Market

It seems that the supply of graduates, though not likely to increase at a rate anything like that of the early 1970s will still be large in relation to the current replacement - incremental growth phase of the graduate job market. This situation is revealed starkly in recent surveys of occupational demand for graduates. Very few established professional occupations show any significant shortage. The November 1979 Department of Employment and Youth Affairs assessment, lists shortages only in accounting, engineering draftsman, computer programmers-analysisists, and a few minor occupations like chiropodists. This is not to say jobs are not available for professionals elsewhere - rather that they are available selectively and are at least matched by the expected output of graduates.

But could there arise some economic change which would overcome this situation? This is not an area that can be covered in any detail here. The debate on the impact of a second mining boom is just beginning. Some argue that the destructive effect on existing manufacturing industries through export expansion and exchange rate strengthening ("the Gregory effect") will lead to a contraction of jobs. Others that the overall growth in wealth and economic dynamism will more than compensate for any such impact. I think a second mining boom will generate wealth such as to boost the demand for professional skills in the service sector (from increased private expenditures on travel, health, education, etc.) and government expenditures on various community and social service. The 1970s pattern wherein employment in community services (health, education, welfare, etc.) has dominated job creation is likely to continue, and thus over the long term will provide renewed demands for graduates. But the effects of this wealth generation will take time to move through the system, and is unlikely to rapidly alter the current situation where graduate output is still tuned to the shortage days of the early 1970s. A graduate "surplus" seems likely for several years. In such circumstances no change is likely in current government scepticism as to the value of higher education. To the extent expenditure is increased it seems inevitable it will be in TAFE-trade area where the conventional wisdom within government and business circles is that there is a serious undersupply of tradesmen and technicians.

Just to absorb the current output of the higher education system will require many graduates to lower their job aspirations and settle for jobs previously not requiring tertiary qualifications - or conversely action by employers to demand increasing educational standards for their new employees, (credentialism). There is no doubt that a credentialism process is currently going on. But to judge from government and employer concern about this, it is not likely this sort of demand would be given much sympathy. The issue was specifically indicated in the terms of reference of the Williams Inquiry into Education and Training, and the Committee received "... an extensive response to this section of the terms of reference from employers" - mainly critical! (Williams, 1979, p. 461).

Student Demand for Higher Education

A final aspect of what must seem an increasingly gloomy picture is the reaction of prospective students to the situation. Will they continue to demand access to higher education under current circumstances? There is little doubt that until recently possession of a Bachelor's degree was a passport to relative affluence, and a crucial factor in encouraging higher educational participation rates. The 1976 census indicated this quite clearly (Table 2).

Table 2. Income by Educational Qualifications, Australian males

Percentage Earning over $12,000 in 1976		
Bachelor's Degree	Trade Qualification	No Qualification
52.9	8.8	7.8

Source. Calculated from A.B.S. 1976 Census, People and Dwellings. Cross classified Tables, Australia, Table 39.

Despite this situation the public discussion of the difficulties graduates are now having finding jobs already appears to have influenced some people's perceptions of the attractions of the higher education investment. The most obvious evidence as indicated in Table 3 is the recent decline in participation rates among males at the upper level of the school system. Another example is the slight fall in enrolments in specialist fields like engineering where the impact of recession has been most clear cut (Lawson, op. cit., p. 3).

Table 3. Retention Rates of School Students to Final Year.

	Males	Percentage Females	Persons
1974	34.1	31.6	32.9
1975	34.6	33.6	34.1
1976	34.6	35.3	34.9
1977	34.0	36.6	35.3
1978	33.1	37.3	35.1
1979	32.4	37.3	34.8

Source. A.B.S., School Enrolments, 1979 (Preliminary)

Empirical analyses of the relationship between the changing job market for graduates and prospective student reactions leaves no doubt that a reduction in the prospective economic return from a degree does have a significant influence on the decision of certain groups as to whether to go to college (Freeman & Holloman, 1975). The proportion of 18 to 19 year old white males enrolled as students in higher education in the U.S. fell from 44 per cent in 1971 to 35 per cent in 1974 (Geiger, 1978/79, p. 64). High rates of decline were found amongst those from families of modest income, i.e. those who might be expected to have the most instrumental (in income terms) orientation to higher education and thus be most responsive to information as to lower returns from education (ibid., p. 65).

On the other hand Table 3 indicates expansion (until 1978) of female retention rates. Widely distributed information to the effect that female graduates can no longer expect easy access to careers in teaching, social work etc., have not yet reversed the trend towards higher participation rates. This is just one indication of many that decisions about school and tertiary education participation are also influenced by non-economic returns.

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF PARTICIPATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The following brief discussion of this social context suggests powerful forces will continue to operate to expand participation rates in tertiary education, forces which subsequent Australian governments will find difficult to resist (notwithstanding the present political distaste for higher education). These factors can only be partially related to demographic factors - and in my view will help counteract limitations on the growth of higher education implied in the above demographically based analysis.

Higher education offers not only the potential for relatively high incomes but also status deriving from possession of the educational credential and the professional occupation it can open up. In a meritocratically oriented society it is valued for the signals it gives as to the intelligence qualities of the possessor of the educational qualification. In addition, because of the relative scarcity of both the qualification, and the job it is the key to entering, it is an important source of prestige. These characteristics help explain the appeal of higher education to minorities and other hitherto "deprived" groups (including women). To those seeking upward mobility higher education offers avenues to credentials which are widely valued and which may counteract any particular characteristics of the aspiring person or group (such as race or nationality) which are devalued in the host society.

The particular appeal education has to minority groups should therefore come as no surprise. For example in the USA black male enrolments have run counter to those of white males cited above. Black college enrolments for males increased from 23 to 25 per cent of the 18 to 19 year old age group between 1969 and 1975 (Freeman & Holloman, op. cit., p. 26). In Australia, apart from the increase in female enrolments, there is evidence of acute interest in higher education from the sons and daughters, born in Australia, of migrants from Southern and Eastern European countries (including Italy, Greece, Cyprus, Malta and Yugoslavia). Data drawn from the 1976 census indicate that 43.9 per cent of this second generation aged 15 to 24 was not in the labour force, as compared with only 26.9 per cent of those with parents born in Australia. Since almost all of those not in the labour force would be in school or college this indicates education retention rates for this second generation are considerably higher than for native Australians. This impressive figure presumably reflects the ambitiousness of Southern and Eastern European migrants for their children. Access to education and improvements in the quality of education in migrant areas have been perhaps the major focus of migrant political agitation since the 1960s. This seems to reflect their judgement that education offers the most accessible pathway to material success and to a source of status which may counteract negative host community evaluations of Southern European nationality and culture.

I think the competitiveness of this substantial group along with other social factors prompting greater competitiveness in Australian society are leading to a "shake up" of the more traditional easy going Australian attitudes to education and work. These factors include the efforts of corporate marketers to mobilise the community to become more individualistically acquisitive (to ensure the burgeoning product of the system is purchased). But most important of all is the impact of the current largely supply-based surplus of graduates discussed above. Australians can no longer assume, as was the case through the 1950s and 1960s, that a career in a white collar or professional occupation is there for the asking.

It is unlikely that Australians - particularly middle class Australians - will just passively accept this situation. As their awareness grows of the limited access to the restricted number of high status jobs available they are likely to compete harder (or encourage their children to). In addition, as Hirsch (1977, p.48) has argued, "An increase in effective demand for superior jobs can be expected to accompany the growth of the material sector, because with material wants better satisfied people are readier to devote more resources to improving their work situation". Since higher education is a precondition for most high status jobs this inevitably means they, like the migrants, will have to put greater resources into the educational effort of their children. They are also likely to become more insistent that the government ensure Australian youths have access to training and thus jobs that are currently being filled by immigrants.

Even if many appreciate that achieving the appropriate educational qualifications will not guarantee access to scarce professional and managerial jobs, it does not follow that higher education will lose its value, since employers are likely to (and already are) reacting to the supply surplus by increasing the educational qualifications required for jobs previously demanding lower qualifications. Many examples of this credentialism are cited in the Williams Report (op. cit., Chap. 10). Higher education will thus still be required for "defensive" purposes such that if a graduate fails to obtain an established professional position he can defend himself in competition for lower level jobs against others with competing educational qualifications.

Since education is still seen as the key to access to good jobs it will not be easy for governments to resist claims that it be made more available and accessible. The Australian government has already acquiesced to many of the claims ethnics have made for improvements in the quality of their education at primary and secondary levels. The ideal that all citizens have equality of opportunity - if not reward - is far from dead. Pressures on successive governments to ensure youths, both native Australian and ethnics, are given maximum educational opportunities to vie for all available "good jobs" including those currently filled by incoming migrants, will not be easily pushed aside.

A final consideration pointing to increased demand for higher education over the long term is the impact of affluence and the interest in education as a consumer-leisure activity. This is an attribute of higher education which educationalists can endorse without the unease references to credentialism inspires. Though the wealth generated by the second mining boom may be spread unevenly, there is little doubt that there will be substantial material benefits for many. This should lead to a greater interest in liberal arts and science courses taken out of general interest. If in seeking to satisfy such demands educationalists can develop a new legitimation for higher education revolving around providing opportunities for citizens to develop their potentialities and interests, then the case for additional government support and finance should strengthen.

Thus the long term prospects for higher education seem relatively assured. However, over the short term - through the mid 1980s - the higher education system will have to learn to deal with a graduate job market characterised by replacement and incremental growth - which inevitably means that growth will slow dramatically as compared with the period to the mid 1970s.

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CHAPTER 1.4

THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK FOR AUSTRALIAN TERTIARY EDUCATION

CHRIS PUPLICK

Predicting political outlooks, especially in an election year, can be a very risky business, even more so if you have to do it from the Government Backbench without the benefit of either the wisdom or advice of the Ministerial benches or the comparative freedom and luxury of the Opposition ones.

As such I hope it will be understood and appreciated that the views which I am about to express are very much my own and that I am in no way attempting to make commitments on behalf of the Government Parties. To the extent that new avenues are to be opened up, or new changes of emphasis in education are to be announced, they will be for other people in other places.

What I would like to do is cover this subject under the following headings:

- Education in its Social Setting
- The Growth of Australian Tertiary Education
- The Commonwealth's Financial Commitments
- Issues of Quality
- Immediate Prospects in Tertiary Education
- Education as a Growth Industry.

Given a certain limit on the time available today I hope that I will be able to at least touch on the principal issues as I see them without being able to cover them all as comprehensively or as elegantly as I might otherwise have liked.

EDUCATION IN ITS SOCIAL SETTING

Until quite recently the Australian electorate regarded education as something between a sacred cow and an unfailing panacea. It was generally held that solutions to all Australians' problems were easily solved by the provision of more and better quality education which should be available to virtually everybody at minimal cost. As new problems arose, all that was necessary was to dig deeper into the public purse to find yet more money for education. Furthermore, fortified in these beliefs no politican expecting to be re-elected would even suggest anything so heretical as cutting back funds in the education sector.

The situation today, by contrast, shows quite a different picture. In a welter of accusations and counter-accusations (the vast majority of which lack any real empirical data to sustain them) about literacy and numeracy rates; as employers continue to claim that a large population of school leavers are "unemployable"; as surveys appear in the national press in which recent graduates castigate their education as being all but worthless, a growing feeling is spreading throughout the community that education has somehow "failed" and those vast sums spent on education are taken to have been wasted.

Now the calls are for increased levels of expenditure on things as disparate as pensions and battleships, children's allowances and fighter planes. Further, if one asks where money should be saved in order to redirect priorities (the sheer expedient of raising more taxation rarely if ever being preferred by electors as a solution), almost without exception one will be told that there must be a great deal of fat capable of being trimmed from education and from universities in particular.

Far from being politically dangerous to suggest cuts in education (which I hasten to add I do not) the very reverse is true. Apart from those directly involved in various facets of education, there are no longer great public pressures for increased education expenditure, and the miserable failure of the Teachers' Federation campaign designed to make education an issue, is just further evidence of this.

Nor has education done particularly well out of the various Inquiries which have come to occupy such a prominent place in our political culture of late. The 1975 Report of Professor Borrie was seen as telling governments that sheer physical demand for education was not likely to continue at the sort of rates previously predicted.

The failure of schools and educational institutions to provide a proper training in such fields as inter-personal relationships were highlighted by the Evatt Royal Commission on Human Relationships and by the Report of Commissioner R.T. Fitzgerald of the Poverty Inquiry.

Education struck back once or twice in its own defence, most notably with the Williams Report which said in almost so many words, that it was primary and secondary education which was at fault, not tertiary education; but even if there were some faults at the tertiary level they were in the Technical and Further Education (TAFE) institutions and the colleges but not the universities, however if minor faults had crept into the universities they were in the new ones anyway so it didn't really matter all that much.

Various other parts of the education and training system have also been put under the microscope. We have seen the rejection by the Government of a large part of the Sax Report recommendations on nurse education; we are shortly to have the report of the Auchmuty Inquiry into Teacher Education and have only just established the Ralph Inquiry into Management Training.

Regrettably, for all the rest of the Report which I find useful, there is little or nothing about future directions in education to be gleaned from the Myers Inquiry into technological change.

It is thus within this framework of public disillusionment about education, with criticisms about the products of the education system by both students and employers, with little public pressure for more to be done in education and with little direction or purpose suggested by major inquiries which have reported to the Government, that one has to cast a great deal of the rest of our discussion.

THE GROWTH OF AUSTRALIAN TERTIARY EDUCATION

Universities

Universities have developed in a series of essentially different groups. The first of these groups constitutes the six original capital-city universities starting with Sydney in 1850 and finishing with Western Australia in 1911. The second group consists solely of the Australian National University growing from a college of Melbourne University in 1930 to its present status in 1960. The third group consists of the two second capital-city universities in Sydney (University of New South Wales 1949) and Melbourne (Monash 1958). The fourth group consists of some five capital city universities of the middle 1960's - to early 1970's starting with La Trobe and Macquarie in 1964 and seeing most recently Murdoch in 1973. The final group consists of some five non-capital city universities growing in major population centres outside the capitals, most of them starting as colleges of other universities such as New England (1938 - 1954), Newcastle (1951 - 1965) James Cook (1961 - 1970), Wollongong (1962 - 1975) and Deakin (1974).

General Commonwealth control of universities came both slowly and in a piecemeal fashion. During 1943 regulations were introduced for the payment of assistance to students at universities, this financial assistance being put on a permanent basis in 1951 when the first States Grants (Universities) Act was also passed. Following the Murray Enquiry the Australian Universities Commission came into being in 1959 to advise the Government on matters of policy and financial support for universities. In 1974 the Commonwealth assumed full responsibility for University and College funding and in 1977 the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) replaced three previous bodies to give the Commonwealth one unified source of advice about post-secondary education.

The growth in the number of students at universities runs parallel to these trends. In 1939 universities like Sydney and Melbourne had only about 4000 students each. In 1946 the Australian total was about 25,500; preliminary estimates for 1980 are in excess of 163,000.

Colleges of Advanced Education

Following the Martin Report recommendation in 1964 for "the development of a broad comprehensive system of tertiary education, with an emphasis different from but complementary to, tertiary education provided by the universities", the Commonwealth agreed to help the States in financing other institutions; these were to provide "advanced education" with a vocational emphasis, and subsequently became known as colleges of advanced education.

The CAEs were developed principally from existing tertiary elements of the technical college system, agricultural colleges, para-medical colleges and schools of art. The Commonwealth Advisory Committee on Advanced Education was established in 1965 to advise on financial assistance to CAEs becoming the Australian Commission on Advanced Education in 1971 (and the Advanced Education Council within the TEC, from June 1977).

The Commonwealth was not prepared at the time to provide recurrent financial assistance to the States for teachers' colleges; but it did make unmatched capital grants to these colleges in the period 1967 - 1973, and was prepared to fund teacher-education courses in some multi-disciplinary CAEs; the Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education was among six CAEs throughout Australia which received Commonwealth funding for these courses in the 1970-1972 triennium.

After a recommendation from the Senate Standing Committee on Education, Science and the Arts in 1972, the Commonwealth included thirty-nine former State teachers' colleges under CAE funding arrangements as from July 1973, and extended the arrangements to six non-government teachers colleges in 1974.

There are now 69 CAEs, ranging in size from the Western Australian Institute of Technology, with more than 11,000 students, to small, single-purpose colleges with a few hundred students or less (Orange Agricultural College, 138 students in 1979).

The preliminary total enrolment for CAEs in 1980 is about 160,000 students (and, therefore, about 3000 fewer than total Australian university enrolments); the CAE participation rate, measured by the ratio of students to the total population in the 17 - 22 years age group, rose from 7.1 per cent in 1973 to 10.2 per cent in 1978.

Technical and Further Education

The Commonwealth's current TAFE programmes derive largely from the Report of the Kangan Committee in April 1974, leading to the establishment of the Technical and Further Education Commission in July 1975 to formulate and administer Commonwealth programmes of financial assistance to TAFE (it became the TAFE Council of the TEC in June 1977).

Most TAFE courses are, of course, provided through State Government Departments, in institutions with enrolments of up to 41,000 students, and with up to 350 separate courses. Until 1974 reliable national statistics for TAFE were not collected; enrolments then in the three main groups of courses (vocational, preparatory/bridging, adult education or general enrichment/ hobby) totalled 608,000; the comparable preliminary enrolment figure for 1980 is 889,000.

THE COMMONWEALTH'S FINANCIAL COMMITMENTS

Basically the Commonwealth has assumed full financial responsibility for universities and colleges of advanced education, while at the same time playing a "topping-up" role in the States for both Technical and Further Education and for schools. It provides about 25 per cent of total TAFE expenditure and about 12 per cent of the money spent on non-government schools.

For universities and CAEs, recurrent funds for 1981 have been determined previously by the Government as part of the fixed triennial arrangements which it re-introduced in 1979/81. These institutions are able to sustain their existing intakes because the recurrent funds have been maintained at a constant level for the triennium. Enrolments in universities and CAEs have largely stabilised. Total spending in these sectors will be $1,279.9 million in 1981, including recurrent funding on the same real terms as in 1980. The future for capital and equipment spending for 1981, $82.7 million, is somewhat below the level of the 1980 programme, but the Government has calculated carefully that it is enough to meet commitments for all capital projects going ahead now, and to enable a start to be made on new capital projects of the highest priority. The grants made available for capital projects in the 1960s and 1970s have made possible a very great development of facilities for universities and CAEs. Since 1976, this Government has provided or is committing itself to providing nearly $800 million (at the estimated price-levels of December 1979) in capital and equipment grants for univerisites and CAEs.

In TAFE where there has been some growth in enrolments, Commonwealth expenditure in 1981 ($153.3 million) will be maintained at the priority level that was established in 1980 ($151.6 million). (Both of these figures being at estimated December 1979 price-levels). The total Commonwealth capital programme of $91.5 million within the future above will include $17.9 million for the third year of the supplementary $50 million grant.

The Commonwealth also has direct responsibility for the payment of allowances to students and their families, this constituting almost the sole mention of education matters in the Commonwealth Constitution where it was placed by referendum in 1946. In 1979/80 the principal such scheme, the Tertiary Education Assistance Scheme involved Commonwealth expenditure in excess of $164 million.

The Government's future commitments for education expenditure were announced in a Ministerial Statement of May 22, 1980. After pointing out that total public expenditure on education was expected to reach $6.5 billion in 1979/80 (an increase of more than 6 per cent in real terms since 1976/7) the Statement continued to give an overview of eduation generally in the following terms:

> "The rapid growth in enrolments across the whole education sector, which made such a heavy demand on resources in the 1960s and early 1970s, has now eased. Student numbers overall are tending to stabilise, but there are still increases in some sectors. School enrolments declined for the first time in 1979 and are projected to continue to decline until the late 1980s. Within the overall trend for schools, there was a decline in government school numbers last year, whilst in non-government schools there was a small rise. Enrolments in universities and colleges of advanced education have largely stabilised. In the technical and further education sector there has been some growth in enrolments. All recurrent programmes will be maintained at no less than their present levels and some have been increased. In the schools sector additional funds are to be directed to areas of need. Expenditure in technical and further education will be maintained at the priority level established in 1980."

The Statement issued a reminder that, in the 1979 Guidelines, the Government had expressed its concern that the TEC should continue to monitor carefully the use and allocation of resources and that the Government looked to the Commission for advice on the relationship of manpower supply to demand in those areas critical for education planning. Education of course is forced to compete with all other sectors of the Budget for the supply of resources, and this competition has become more acute in recent years, especially as the numbers of people actually receiving education declines in both relative and in real numbers.

Despite this, the real levels of expenditure on education have remained remarkably constant at about the eight per cent of Budget level in 1980/81. Education had of course been the fastest growing sector for many years, having been only 3.7 per cent in 1970/71. Of the current eight per cent level, over half has gone to tertiary institutions (with the CAE share at about 35 per cent) with another ten per cent going for student assistance.

ISSUES OF QUALITY

It would be quite wrong to assume that the Commonwealth's sole concern has been restricted to questions of a financial nature. In association with the TEC, successive Commonwealth Governments have sought to promote major advances in the quality of Australian tertiary education, although to a very large extent this question is one which involves the individual tertiary institution itself.

Quality of course is also very much related to the provision of appropriate formal structures through which advice is exchanged between governments and the education sector, and through which decisions are made and policies administered.

The following various activities undertaken at federal government initiative illustrate some of the lines along which policy has been developing:

> Commissioning in 1976 of the Committee of Inquiry into Education and Training (the Williams Inquiry), and the tabling of the Committee's report in March 1979. In his statement in November 1979 on the Government's response to the report, the former Minister for Education, Senator Carrick, said: 'The Williams Report has provided a variety of insights into the challenges that face tertiary education and training in

Australia . . . In the future it may be judged that the Williams Report has marked a stage in a move towards a more comprehensive view of the role of tertiary education and training in Australian society. The "learning society" may still lie in the future, but some of its pre-requisites are clearer as a result of the work of the Williams Committee'.

The passing in 1977 of the Tertiary Education Commission Act providing a two-tier structure in which the TEC has co-ordinating responsibilities across the three sectors of tertiary education, and final responsibility for financial recommendations; and establishing the three inclusive Councils - the Universities Council, the Advanced Education Council, and the Technical and Further Education Council.

Announcement in 1978 of terms of reference for the National Inquiry into Teacher Education (the Auchmuty Inquiry), whose report is due to be tabled in the coming Budget session of Parliament. The Inquiry attracted 430 written submissions; its members spoke with more than 2000 people at about 150 public and private meetings in all State capitals and major provincial centres.

Financing, beginning in 1979, of the TAFE staff-development programme.

The Government's re-introduction, in 1978, of fixed triennial funding for recurrent tertiary spending.

First intake of full-time students, in 1980, at the Australian Maritime College, near Launceston.

Announcement of the terms of reference for the Inquiry into Management Education (the Ralph Inquiry), also in 1980.

IMMEDIATE PROSPECTS IN TERTIARY EDUCATION

I think it worth emphasising that despite the general climate of economic restraint that the education sector has fared reasonably well, although expansion in some areas, notably some of the capital works areas, has not taken place at the rate or pace which many of us would have argued to be desirable. All recurrent programmes have been maintained and recurrent funds have been maintained at a constant level for the current triennium.

Not that this means that anyone in the Government is looking at the problem complacently. I think that most people would find themselves agreeing with at least one of the conclusions of the Williams Report, namely (para. 1.47) that:

> "Australian education is not perfect, it can be improved, and there is a need to adapt it to deal with new problems. The Australian community has, however, been well served by its system of education. The TAFE sector has responded quickly and creatively to new demands on it and to opportunities provided by more adequate funds. The universities displayed a capacity to grow and to cope with new types of students that belied their reputation as conservative and inward-looking institutions. The history of the advanced education sector that was developed after the Martin Committee Report in 1964 and 1965 reflects great credit on the colleges, the State authorities and the Commission on Advanced Education."

There has never been a suggestion that the Commonwealth lessen, let alone abdicate its responsibilities in the provision of tertiary education. Indeed it was only the active intervention of the Commonwealth which stimulated the growth of the whole college sector, so that there are now nearly four times the number of colleges as universities, with almost the same numbers of students enrolled, but spread far more equitably and sensibly throughout the whole of Australia.

The problems are realised by Governments and are being faced up to by those directly involved. In an address given on April 22, 1980 at Melbourne State College, the Chairman of the Tertiary Education Commission, Professor Peter Karmel, stated:

> "In a growth situation the introduction of new courses and the shift of resources between various activities are relatively painless. When there is no growth institutions become less adaptable; . . . Nevertheless, given sufficient time, significant changes can be brought about by the accumulation of incremental changes through the natural wastage of staff and by

> marginal shifts of resources. For example, universities and colleges of advanced education have known since 1976 that by the mid-eighties there will have to be reductions in the resources they devote to teacher education. Such a lead time should enable them to adapt to the changed circumstances; it is important that they take advantage of it by ensuring that incremental changes are in the right direction; . . ."

He went on to say:

> "It would be wrong to suppose that institutions and systems of higher education have not shown themselves to be responsive to these problems. Indeed in this respect, universities and colleges of advanced education and the systems in which they operate often get less credit than they deserve. I want to emphasise that, while the problems of the eighties and beyond are formidable, our institutions of higher education have already shown a capacity to meet them; with some assistance from the authorities further adaptation and response will certainly occur. May I give a few examples of what has taken place so far. The institutions have already broadened their clientele by liberalising entry requirements and making provision for diversification in the modes of study. In 1975, 39 per cent of enrolments in higher education were aged 23 years and over; the proportion is now 46 per cent. Again, over the same period the proportion of part-time internal enrolments has increased from 30 per cent to 33 per cent, and the proportion of off-campus students has risen from 6 per cent to 10 per cent . . .
>
> An increasing interest is developing in continuing professional vocational education. This is in line with the concept of recurrent education and with recommendations of the Williams Committee. The Tertiary Education Commission is at present giving serious consideration to the role that this should play in the universities and colleges of advanced education of the future . . .".

The Bulletin reported in its issue of March 4 1980:

> "The proportion of Australians with university or tertiary qualifications has almost trebled since 1961, according to the Morgan Gallup Poll. At that time the Gallup Poll conducted a major study of the education standards of the adult Australian population. It was found that fewer than six per cent had tertiary qualifications or were training for them. This figure now stands at 17 per cent, or 1.6 million Australians aged 20 or over."

The Graduate Careers Council of Australia said in The Graduate Labour Market 1980, released in February this year:

> "The statistics for University supply are available for the '60s and show that between 1960 and 1978 the output of graduates grew from 5200 to 33,250, an average annual growth rate of 10.9 per cent over the 18 years. The Advanced Colleges statistics for graduate output prior to 1973 do not cover all the institutions now included under Advanced Colleges. Consequently the growth rate in College graduates since 1960 is not available although it was certainly higher than that experienced by the Universities."

Despite the criticisms of graduates to which I have previously alluded on several occasions, the Graduate Careers Council went on in its 1980 Report to comment about university and college graduates in the following terms:

> "Increasingly there will be a need to change the mix of the types of graduates produced, and those students who include a significant number of vocationally useful units in their degree and attempt to match labour market requirements will be the most successful in competing for jobs. For many students flexible attitudes to the type of work they are prepared to undertake will be essential. Post-graduate vocational training, either on-the-job or in formal courses, will become much more common and new graduates will need to adjust their expectations accordingly.
>
> Many occupations which traditionally have not been attractive to graduates will become so and the occupations will be upgraded in the process. Also new occupations requiring tertiary training will emerge as they have in the past.
>
> Overall the employment outlook for graduates in the next five years is expected to continue to be much more favourable than for school leavers. As a consequence young people will increasingly be under pressure to undertake further studies in order to improve their competitive position in the job market."

To my mind this evidence would not allow a qualified observer to make the sort of blanket criticisms of the education system as such in Australia today as some have. Clearly at least at the tertiary level the consumers of the finished education product are saying that the product is basically sound, although greater flexibility is needed to allow the system to adapt to rapidly changing circumstances.

EDUCATION AS A GROWTH INDUSTRY

I would like to conclude with a little personal crystal-ball gazing and try my hand at a few predictions which I make looking towards the year 2000. I pick this date both because it is convenient, because I intend to be around then at the age of 52, and if I'm totally wrong in what I have to say those of you who are also still around are likely to have forgotten anyway.

One of the things upon which I think all futurologists agree is that one of the commodities which we will possess in excess by 2000 will be time. The use of increased leisure time will most certainly pose a major challenge for education.

The traditional view of higher education - that in its formal sense it was a brief, one-off experience, which intervened between school and a lifetime of employment, endured for a relatively short period and left you better able to seek a job, has all but passed - the next few years should see it discarded entirely.

I would see education as developing now to play a far breader part in the lives of both individuals and the community at large. I in fact foresee three principal areas of education developing and becoming increasingly interdependent.

The first of these is the traditional view which I have just expressed, concerning the acquisition of skills after a period at school which equip the graduate to enter the work-force; where possession of such qualifications is either a necessary pre-requisite or else a distinct advantage in gaining employment. This is the traditional area to which my paper has been largely directed.

The second area concerns what for the sake of convenience I shall call re-education. In this I include all the sort of in-service training currently undertaken in some professions such as teaching which I see as becoming increasingly necessary in some of the professions including law, medicine, accounting etc. where new skills within an existing discipline are required. I also include the re-education that is necessary to allow a relatively skilled employee (I draw no distinction between blue and white collar) to retain his or her job as that specific job is altered by the introduction and development of new technologies. Finally I include the concept of re-education proper, that is the reintroduction of a person with one set of skills to an educational institution where they acquire an essentially new set of skills and go out to do a job of work significantly different from that which they originally left to do.

The third area involves what I call non-vocational education. This means the provision of education for a person who simply wants to acquire skills or knowledge for their own sake with no thought of their value being in any sense marketable.

As we move towards the end of the century I foresee a continuing steady need for my first type of education, but a substantially greater need for the second type and a real boom in the demand for the third. These views derive from my predictions about our personal economic futures which need not detain us here but which should be easily discernible by you all.

If I am right about these predictions, then education itself will become one of the great growth industries of the 1980s and 1990s, it will involve more people at every level and of every age group and experience. Some of it will take place in traditional institutions and using traditional methods. A great deal of it will take place using the new technology which is already upon us. The only new university I confidently hope and expect to see booming along in the next two decades will be the "Open University" of Australia.

I do not think that the how or the where of this new development matters very much, what I do think matters is that it will require many changes of attitude both within the education and political sector and it will require substantial injections of both money and personnel starting in the not too distant future. Having said as much I do not propose to take the discussion any further.

I trust that this brief discussion about some of the political, social, economic and educational issues which I have been able to present today will be understood as having only scraped a number of surfaces and not as attempting to erect some master edifice, structure or blueprint that you will be able to carry confidently with you into the future. As I said at the outset, futurology like economics is a dismal science and like economics it's amazing how often you can be wrong and still be regarded as a genius. We shall soon enough see how much of a genius I am.

CHAPTER 1.5

THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK FOR AUSTRALIAN TERTIARY EDUCATION

JOHN BUTTON

I am pleased to be participating in a conference on the subject of "The New Era in Tertiary Education". I am also slightly puzzled. Perhaps the expression "New Era" merely refers to a new and different period in tertiary education. But the phrase also conjures up a sense of betterment, of new opportunities, new initiatives . . . indeed, a "new deal". There is a suggestion of expansiveness and optimism . . . of "turning on the lights", to adopt a phrase of doubtful lineage, seared in the memory.

In contrast, the official jargon used to categorise the present period of tertiary education is saturated with gloomy expressions such as "no growth" and tertiary education in the "steady state". Nothing, we are led to believe, can elevate our minds from the "growing horror of nothing to think about", as we contemplate a somewhat alarming world from a standing position. This may be a comfortable stance - even an understandable one - but neither necessary nor desirable if we are genuinely concerned about a new era in which the education system is contributing its maximum effort and is responsive to the needs of the society in which we live.

So when we talk about "the political outlook" for Australian tertiary education in the light of the notion of "a new era", it is to my mind only relevant to do so in the context of one's perceptions of what sort of country we are, and what sort of country we might wish to become.

Our hopes and aspirations for the future of this society are a necessary backdrop for any consideration of the system responsible for the education of our future citizens. Inevitably there will be differences of opinions about these fundamental matters, and I propose to state my views with bluntness rather than circumspection.

THE PRESENT NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

In the 1950s and 1960s, Australia achieved prosperity on the base of its natural advantages. Australian governments of this period displayed minimal initiatives in national leadership, and eschewed purposeful policy in industrial, economic and manpower areas.

It was truly a "lucky country", as Donald Horne pointed out, in that it got by nicely without much planning or direction, while the economies of countries such as Norway, Sweden and West Germany were being planned against "Future Shock", the predominant ethos of Australian society was founded on the benign belief that prosperity was inevitable. In 1980 it is clear that unless we make some significant choices, this antipodean "dolce vita" is a thing of the past.

The basic assumption of this paper is that Australia faces a watershed in its history: that as a nation we face a choice between a future of shared prosperity, or a future of dramatically declining national well-being and aspiration, but that the choice is within our control and management.

There are a number of predictions which can be made with some certainty about Australian society in the next twenty or thirty years. In summary they are as follows:

- Demographic changes over recent years have resulted in a stabilising and ageing population.
- There is likely to be a continuing relatively high level of unemployment although this can be offset, if and when Australian industry becomes more

efficient and competitive, and new industries are developed based on Australian skill and technology.

- The future of the Australian economy lies increasingly in trading relationships with the countries of South-East Asia and the Pacific, which themselves have rapidly developing economies.
- Technological change, and particularly micro-processors, will have a dramatic and destablising effect on employment, the skills of the workforce, and the traditional social fabric of the Australian community.
- As Professor Ralf Dahrendorf has predicted, an important contemporary political and social issue may become "the social reconstruction of human lives", namely a fundamental re-orientation in the relationship between work, education, leisure and domestic life.

Meeting these new challenges will require a great deal of change and adaptation to new circumstances across the spectrum of national institutions, and, more particularly, in the context of this paper, change in the emphasis and direction of the education system.

ISSUES CONFRONTING TERTIARY EDUCATION IN THE 1980s

No education system operates effectively in a social or political vacuum. If it tries to do so, it cannot be truly relevant to the present or future of the society of which it is part.

It is arguable, of course, that we can muddle along as before, but I do not myself think so, and I believe we must be concerned with articulating a coherent, national role for education, consistent with overall national priorities and with the society which we are concerned to develop, which will be best able to cope with the challenges confronting this nation over the next two decades.

It is accordingly argued that the role of the national government in education must give particular recognition to the following matters:-

1. The importance of a well educated population and a skilled workforce, capable of adapting to change. Our tertiary education system must aim to produce
    - competent and confident individuals;
    - with a flexible range of specialist vocational skills;
    - balanced by the acquisition of critical intellectual values, an understanding of social issues, and appreciation of cultural values, and a willingness to undertake an informed, active role in a democratic society.
2. The relative interdependence of the Australian economy with the economies of Asia, and the importance of Australia playing a significant role in the economic, political and cultural development of our region.
3. The importance of technological change in Australia's economic development, and an understanding of its economic and social implications.
4. The importance of the development of a more socially cohesive and egalitarian society, better able to grapple with rapid social change. An education system which does not take into account the special needs, legitimate aspirations and potential contribution of all groups within Australian society acts as a divisive force within our society which separates in terms of opportunities and reinforces differences in attitudes between various groups and interests. That social changes, changing age distribution of the population and technological change will increase the growing pressure to equalise individual life opportunities through greater access to recurrent education. In this respect, it must be remembered that our tertiary education par-

ticipation rates are currently amongst the lowest in the western industrialised world.

5. The need for the education system to emphasise a specifically democratic ethos in a society where democratic values are threatened by the bureaucracies of government and large corporations, the potentially dehumanising effects of technology and the pervasiveness of the electronic media.
6. The need for our tertiary institutions to play an important role in the national and public life of Australia. We in Australia today as a nation face an enormous range of problems, to the solution of which our academic institutions ought to be making a significant contribution.

   In addition, tertiary institutions - to properly fulfil a role in Australian public life - need to provide independent criticism and evaluation of contemporary Australian society; provide independent sources of policy initiatives; and contribute to evaluation of policy as an alternative to the bureaucracy and existing government structures. It is important for the democratic health of a nation, particularly the Australian nation, bedevilled with a secretive public service and media networks increasingly under the control of a few individuals, that the public has access to such independent sources of advice and evaluation of public policy.

THE TRANSLATION OF THESE GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS INTO A SPECIFIC PROGRAMME: TOWARDS A NEW ERA.

The Australian Labour Party's (ALP) education programme for 1981-83 is an attempt, within the budgetary constraints imposed upon any government given present economic circumstances, to translate the above precepts into an initial series of progressive actions which will restore a sense of purpose to the Australian tertiary education system.

In articulating a programme, we have several advantages over our Liberal/National Country Party coalition opponents:

1. Part of the difficulties which the present government has had with education is that it has inherited an education framework not of its own making, with too much electoral support for it to dismantle at present, but with a consequent lack of will and vision to develop it further. Instead, we have seen an insensitive and indiscriminate curtailment of funding.

2. As a consequence, there has been a failure to develop any coherent vision as to the role and purpose of the tertiary education system. For instance:

   - there was the procrastination while so long awaiting the much heralded Williams Report, followed by a refusal to act on its major recommendations;
   - the last five years have witnessed the rise into crucial prominence of such concerns as rising and intractable levels of unemployment, the consequent need for a youth policy, the changes wrought on our society by technological change, our changing relations with Asia, the decline of our manufacturing industries, and increased awareness of the problems associated with an ageing population.

   Yet there has been no attempt to respond to these national concerns through appropriate educational policies ... or, indeed, a recognition that the education system has any relevance to them.

3. As a second consequence of this lack of vision, there has been a lack of resolution in grappling with problems. For instance, in retrospect the period of rapid growth in our tertiary education system was scarcely characterised by careful planning, although many factors contributed to the difficulties or planned development.
   These included the absence of sound demographic data, rising community anticipations, lack of national co-ordination, and parochial rivalries between states. As a result, at the end of this period, Australia had arguably too many tertiary institutions, representing an enormous capital investment, and the debate had begun to turn on questions of "rationalisation" and "co-ordination". Yet the present government has virtually abandoned any national leadership in strengthening, consolidating and rationalising colleges of advanced education (CAEs).
4. Sins of omission aside, we have seen the implementation of a number of initiatives which seem more gratuitous and symbolic than real: such as the curtailment of academic study leave, the imposition of fees on overseas students, the uncompensated for taxation of postgraduate awards, and the attempts to proscribe and inhibit the activities of student unions.
5. All this, particularly when allied with veiled threats of worse to come, has produced a state of despondency and uncertainty in large sections of our tertiary education system which has created something of a crisis situation.

By contrast, our tertiary education system needs to be guided by a coherent political and social philosophy concerning the role of education within our society, which can be explained to an electorate frankly anxious about the role and purpose of education. It is this approach which I would claim distinguishes the ALP from its opponents.

SOME SPECIFIC INITIATIVES

Research

In recent years, the government has ignored the call for increased funding for research by the Organization for Economic and Cultural Development (OECD) Examiners in Science and Technology, the Australian Science and Technology Council, the Universities Council, the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC), the Australian Academy of Science, the Industries Assistance Commission, Academic Staff Associations, the Committee of Inquiry into Education and Training, and the Senate Standing Committee on Science and the Environment.

The ALP sees a link between this need for additional research funding and the need for universities and colleges to play a more significant role in the national and public life of Australia. There is also a link between increased research activity and the prestige and quality of our education system.

There are a number of pressing national problems which we think our academic institutions should be giving serious and critical attention to in a much less haphazard way than at present:

- for example, how can we offer unemployed youth a more attractive psychological, educational and social alternative to the dole? This is potentially the most divisive social problem in Australia as an entire generation may be alienated from our society;
- how can we become a viable industrial nation living in competition and co-operation with Asia?
- what new industries can we create in this country?

- how can we best conserve and exploit our immense energy resources?
- how can we best develop the recently declared 200 mile economic zone?
- how can we utilise rapidly changing technology while coping with the social dislocation this is likely to produce?
- how can we translate the ill-defined concept of a multi-culturalism into a reality, while remaining a socially cohesive society?

The privileges which tertiary institutions properly enjoy carry with them certain obligations and responsibilities in relation to matters of public policy and general concern to the well-being of Australian society. It is not possible to specify particular solutions to each of the problems mentioned above, but insofar as an educational response is appropriate and necessary, an ALP government will implement the following initiatives:

- substantially increase special funds available for research in universities to the extent necessary to allow the TEC to proceed with its plans to build up permanent specialised research concentrations in Australian universities, particularly in those areas judged to be in the on-going national interest. Such areas might appropriately include matters such as energy studies, marine sciences, Asian studies, earth sciences and urban studies;
- establish specialised research institutes designed to mobilise academic expertise and initiative on topics of contemporary national importance. Specialised research institutes would be attached to appropriate universities or CAEs, draw staff from both, and have a limited duration. Examples of appropriate studies for these institutes would include youth policy, creation of new industries in Australia, social impact of technological change, numerical control of industrial processes, tropical medicine, and river basin salinity;

- encourage the development of college-based applied research capacity to perform applied research and consulting assignments under contract to industry and government;
- increase funds available to the Australian Research Grants Committee (ARGC) and the National Health and Medical Research Council (NH & MRC);
- increase the number of Commonwealth Postgraduate Awards, the level of remuneration for these awards, and for the future, refer the fixing of appropriate remuneration levels to the Academic Salaries Tribunal;
- encourage greater flexibility in movement of staff between the various sectors of post-secondary education, industry and government, specifically by greater portability of superannuation.

Technology

Realising the importance of Australian society utilising and effectively adjusting to technological change, an ALP Government would:

- request the TEC to report on ways in which the study of disciplines such as science, engineering and computer education can be stimulated, and examine methods by which Australian expertise and capacity to master technological innovation can be improved through the action of the education system;
- increase recurrent funding to TAFE to restore a 10 per cent growth rate. TAFE resources and facilities must be continually upgraded and expanded if Australia is to develop the level of skills needed to maintain our role as a manufacturing and technologically advanced nation. Innovative schemes must be developed within TAFE for the training of young Australians. It is, for instance, scandalous that Australian apprenticeship intakes have levelled out over recent years. Provision needs also to be made for the upgrading of skills of the existing workforce;

- additional attention will be given to the training and development of TAFE staff, including industry release schemes.

Asian Studies

Australia has a limited time span in which to come to terms with the growing economic and political strength of our neighbours in this part of the world. The education system must be geared to give us a large number of educated nationals of varied backgrounds who are thoroughly conversant with all levels of society in the numerous and diverse Asian nations which are developing considerable economic and political strength. It is a matter which has been commented on by Mr. John Menadue, the Australian Ambassador to Japan, Professor J. Mackie of the Research School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University, and others who have had first hand experience of the problems.

Dr Stephen Fitzgerald, former Ambassador to China, makes the point succinctly in the following passage, reported in the "Sydney Morning Herald", 16th May, 1978:

> "Decisions are now being taken in Tokyo and Peking, in ASEAN (the Association of South-East Asian Nations), which have both direct and indirect bearing on Australia and its future.
>
> Most of these are economic. Some are political. Some are educational and cultural. Some may be military. Whether we like it or not, Asian societies are already pressing in on our comfortable world, impinging on our home environment, making the running in matters which affect our national interest, calling us to account, making arrangements in which we may or may not have a part, depending on their decision.
>
> Twenty years ago, it might have been acceptable for Australians to 'take up' Asia as some kind of progressive idea. Today it is a pressing reality; and we are just not in a position to cope. Neither in the bureaucracy, nor in business, nor in Government, nor in the schools and universities, nor in the popular understanding on which government has to call to make new or difficult departures, are we properly equipped to meet this challenge. The challenge is not a military one.
>
> It is far more difficult. It is a matter of strongly moving currents of history in which Australia is being caught up, largely without realising what is happening. This is understandable. It is a reflection of our own history.

> And it is not intended criticism of any individual to observe that one has only to sample the performance of Australians in Asian encounters, official and private, to realise how far behind we are."

An ALP Government will ask the TEC to report on methods of encouraging the teaching and study of Asian studies, including languages.

We must:

- encourage the teaching of Asian languages in our tertiary institutions;
- increase research effort into Asian cultures, politics, trade and product, science and technology needs;
- improve facilities for training Asian students;
- fund academic exchange schemes such as the Australian/Asian Universities Co-operation Scheme.

Increasing Access to Tertiary and Post-Secondary Education

So much of the future of Australia is dependent upon this nation developing a skilled workforce and a well educated population that there must be a commitment to a continual widening of access to tertiary and post-secondary education.

Ultimately, the debate about education expenditure is one about freedom and equality - about choice and options for the majority of Australians. We can narrow the range of options and choice to a limited and fortunate few options in terms of job opportunities, self-fulfilment and leisure, or we can constantly strive to make these options available to all Australians.

The TEC has pointed out that in the course of a life-time 25 per cent of school leavers will enrol in a university or CAE, 40 per cent will enrol in TAFE, and 35 per cent will have no post-secondary experience at all. These include one half of all female leavers and those most vulnerable through lack of skills to unemployment.

As initial steps to increase access to tertiary and post-secondary education there is a need to:

- provide additional funding to a variety of non-institutional mature age education agencies to increase access to recurrent education. These could include neighbourhood centres and learning exchanges which reach into the community, provide informality and dignity to the participants, and allow them control over the ends and means of their learning. However, in addition, we must strive to make our more conventional tertiary and post-secondary institutions more amenable to the needs of those part-time and mature students who are attending them in ever increasing numbers;
- encourage a much more flexible range of options embracing both part-time study and work experience, particularly for youth. Whether in apprenticeship, training schemes, or transitional training, there needs to be a better and more flexible integration between education and work experience;
- encourage flexibility and cross accreditation between states, sectors of the post-secondary system and institutions;
- permit further innovation and experiment - if necessary on a pilot basis - to encourage our tertiary and post-secondary institutions to develop a more decentralised, flexible and diversified network of post-school learning opportunities amenable to the needs of those seeking recurrent education;
- immediate restoration of the TEAS rate to its 1974 level relative to the cost of living, and subsequent indexation for cost-of-living increases, together with an independent review into the operation of TEAS with particular reference to anomalies, appeals, and the adequacy of the means test level. In addition, there needs to be a review of levels of assistance offered by the Secondary Students Assistance scheme, and in particular its adequacy for adult students.

INCREASING THE CAPACITY OF THE TERTIARY EDUCATION SYSTEM TO MEET DEMANDS

Finally, a further series of preliminary steps are necessary, some relating to administration and structure, others to funding, to increase the vitality and effectiveness of our tertiary education system.

Colleges of Advanced Education

The ALP will make determined efforts to define and strengthen the role of the College sector.

Colleges of Advanced Education will be encouraged to maintain a vocational and teaching emphasis, and to strengthen their links with industry, commerce and the professions. There appears to be a number of reasons why this should be so:

- it is important that the electorate has a clear perception and is confident of the structure and purpose of our education system;
- it is important that CAEs establish their own separate identity. Otherwise they are likely to be jammed in between universities on one hand and the TAFE sector on the other; or else they will be regarded merely as second-rate universities;
- all reports from the Martin Committee in 1964 to the recent Williams Inquiry have stressed that this distinction should be maintained;
- to the extent that colleges have accepted the responsibility of developing vocational courses to an intellectual standard appropriate to tertiary education, the results have been worthwhile;
- society should not underestimate or depreciate the importance of the teaching role. A major complaint against universities is that this has often been the case in these institutions;

- the emphasis on teaching and vocationalism in the broadest sense allows for a degree of flexibility and innovation which some colleges have been keen to grasp;
- at a time when society is becoming more and more nervous about the benefits of higher education, it is a positive political advantage for the CAEs to be securely linked to the contemporary concern of the community at large. The vocational emphasis, the accreditation of professional societies, the oversight exercised by state co-ordinating authorities and the TEC can all be offered to substantiate such a claim.

Colleges do have an important role to play in the health professions. An ALP government would accept the Sax Committee proposals that nurse education should be progressively upgraded and catered for by the CAEs. Meeting the demands of an ageing population will also require increased attention to the caring professions.

Some additional resources would be available to CAEs to upgrade courses in multicultural education and special education.

In addition, as outlined above, an ALP government would selectively fund CAE initiatives in the area of applied and development research. Such initiatives would assist CAE staff in their teaching duties. If CAE staff are to maintain credibility with their large and increasing number of part-time students and with employer organisations, they must be able to demonstrate first-hand experience with emerging technologies and frontier applications of industry, commerce and relevant professions.

It also appears likely that the TEC recommendations on teacher demand were somewhat too severe. The whole area of teacher education is currently undergoing examination by the National Inquiry into Teacher Education, due to report soon. It is most likely that this inquiry will probably recommend that the training and upgrading of teaching skills is an area in need of additional resources if the Australian education system is to cope with the complexities and demands increasingly being placed on it.

So too with the in-service training of teachers, teacher support particularly in rural areas and assistance with curriculum development. As an initial step, it might be worthwhile initiating much greater co-operation, liaison, sharing of resources and deployment of staff between Colleges of Advanced Education and the Schools Commission's Services and Development Program and the operation of Education Centres.

It would, for example, benefit both the academic staff of colleges and the Services and Development Program if selected staff from colleges, retaining their present benefits and, if needs, be, after a special period of training, were seconded as special consultants to the Services and Development Program.

Some rationalisation of Teacher Training Colleges may still be necessary, and if this is so, it will be necessary to strengthen the role of the TEC in the rationalisation and re-deployment of resources within the CAE sector and ensure greater consultation with staff and student organisations.

Staffing

The present state of our universities and colleges is most serious in that it reduces the mobility and opportunities for fresh recruitment of staff. Unless some efforts are made to increase mobility of staff within tertiary institutions, a whole generation of young academics could be lost to the system; or else short-term contract appointments could grow beyond reasonable and healthy limits.

In addition, the whole area of industrial relations in the staff area is chaotic due to lack of comprehensive jurisdiction by the Academic Salaries Tribunal and overlapping and differing jurisdiction by State Tribunals.

A "new era" programme would:

- encourage the development of a national tertiary superannuation scheme to assist in flexibility and mobility of staff between institutions, and sectors, industry and government;
- foster greater mobility of academic staff by measures such as portability of superannuation and more flexible, voluntary retirement provisions;
- seek increased independence and definition of the role of the Academic Salaries Tribunal and clarification of the role of the State and Commonwealth in relation to the Tribunal.

Additional Administrative and Funding Matters

Some additional steps are necessary to free the system from the most retrograde actions of the Fraser Government if some measure of vitality is to be re-introduced into our tertiary education system. These refer to the placing of pre-emptive and unduly restrictive guidelines on the TEC, a 51 per cent reduction in real terms since 1975 on capital and equipment grants, and the resultant stop-go nature of capital planning and funding, already hedged in by overly bureaucratic controls.

These additional steps would be to:

- continue to develop the role of the TEC as a source of independent, professional advice to government;
- provide increased funds for equipment;
- re-introduce triennial funding for capital funding, and
- allow greater flexibility in expenditure of capital funds.

CONCLUSION

The rationale and main thrust of the ALP's programme in tertiary and post-secondary education has been outlined. The alternative under the Fraser Government is further erosion of the role and independence of the TEC, a further decline in funding levels, a further unilateral transfer of obligations to State Governments, and the possible re-introduction of fees. The end result will be a return to the conditions of the early 1950s, when Australian universities were small, parochial, starved for funds, and essentially in a no growth or static condition. The rationale of a university education was then clear and unambiguous. It provided a job ticket in a secure profession for the sons and daughters of equally secure professionals. Universities had little or no role to play in the national and public life of the nation.

The programme proposed by the ALP is the minimum necessary to restore some sense of vitality, purpose and direction to the education system, and reverse the trends resulting from five years of aimless and unimaginative policies. The expenditure proposals are minimum amounts and will be increased if greater resources become available within the economy. However, the steps proposed will by themselves promote some sense of forward movement, direction, optimism and relevance within the system which has been lacking for five years. In this sense they are steps towards initiating a new era in tertiary education.

CHAPTER 1.6

COMMENTARY ON SECTION I PAPERS

CONFLICT AND CONSENSUS: THE CONTINUING DEBATE

PETER R. CHIPPENDALE

INTRODUCTION

Debate on the future purposes and setting for tertiary education in Australia raised some fundamental questions, and evoked some positive, if at times conflicting, views about the meaning of post-secondary education in its Australian setting, its aims and its possibilities. In particular, the debate fastened upon the following[1]:

STATING THE OBJECTIVES OF AUSTRALIAN TERTIARY EDUCATION

The problem of stating objectives for Australian tertiary education raised the question: Is it possible to arrive at a statement of purposes covering the whole tertiary sector?

On the one view which directly confronted this question, it was not only possible to arrive at a statement of purposes for the whole sector but also, and despite the general or even fuzzy character of such statements, it was deemed desirable to record those purposes as follows:

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[1] Participants who selected "Purposes & Setting for Australian Tertiary Education" as their particular area of conference interest divided into two groups, representative of a broad cross-section of academic and administrative interests in Australian tertiary education, to discuss the topic. These groups were led by Mr. B.R. Abbey, Chief Projects Officer of the Public Service Association of South Australia and Dr. J. Powell, Acting Director of the Tertiary Education Research Centre of the University of New South Wales respectively. A view expressed by a particular group is identified by reference to (Abbey) or (Powell) as the group leader.

- "to preserve, develop and make available knowledge and skills;
- "to operate in such a way as to encourage the educational values associated with critical enquiry and the individual's capacity for responsible self-government and self-realisation;
- "to meet society's and the individual's needs for vocational preparation, and to do so in ways which are consistent with the other objectives advanced above" (Abbey).

ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS FOR FUTURE SOCIETAL TRENDS AND THE AIMS AND POSSIBILITIES OF TERTIARY EDUCATION

Fundamental to any consideration of this issue, it was held, is the underlying question: Are we attempting to prepare students to cope with a variety of possible futures or to produce people capable of creating a society of a particular kind?

Among those who examined this question, two schools of thought emerged. On one view it was held that the most that could be demanded of an education system was that it equipped people to make well informed choices about the kind of society they wanted; but another view maintained that education should concern itself with the provision of certain values and attitudes on the grounds that not all possible futures are desirable. But on all sides, there was agreement that, while equal attention ought to be directed to the contemporary issues for Australian tertiary education, more attention needs to be given to the social and employment environment likely to emerge at the end of the century (Powell).

THE POSSIBILITIES OF EDUCATION FOR CHANGING AND FORMING VALUES

This issue raised the perennial educational question: Whose values do our educational institutions reflect and promote?

On one side it was argued that tertiary institutions largely reflect and promote contemporary societal values, and especially the values of powerful interest groups which exercise an unwarranted influence on Australian education; but on the other side, it was held that tertiary teachers still possess a high degree of freedom in the educational process, and that teachers' own values largely determine what and how they teach. But there was agreement, in any event, that decision-making in Australian tertiary education is steadily coming under the closer control of those who hold the purse-strings (Powell).

THE MATURE-AGE STUDENT: PROBLEMS OF ACCESS TO TERTIARY EDUCATION AND THE INFORMAL EDUCATION SYSTEM

Attention focused on the growing extent and importance of the informal "system" as more Australians become concerned with satisfying their individual learning needs, rather than with meeting the formal requirements of systems designed by others. The informal "system", it was asserted, is extremely flexible and responsive to demand and it will continue to expand and diversify as the pressures for certification lessen. And should this trend become more pronounced, and as older students re-enter post-secondary education, the universities and colleges of advanced education, whether they wish to or not, will be required to focus more sharply on student needs (Powell).

If the formal institutions are to meet the demand for new and more sophisticated skills and the desire for personal development felt by the increasing number of adults seeking to re-enter post-secondary education, they will need to modify and to broaden considerably their existing policies on student access. Currently a major obstacle to increased access is the unwillingness of many institutions to give credit for study undertaken elsewhere. Transfer between institutions, and between the tertiary sectors, should be strongly encouraged in order to make more effective use of the resources of the system, and to satisfy the needs of individual students (Powell).

It was furthermore considered that mature-age students who do gain access to the formal system are generally regarded as a kind of additional responsibility or additional problem resulting in their being handed out a second-best treatment or receiving what, as it were, is left over. Thus it was recommended:

> "That steps be taken throughout the post-secondary sector to provide more effectively for the needs, aspirations and distinctive learning modes of mature-age students with a view to integrating them into the student body and general institutional structure" (Abbey).

ADEQUACY OF EXISTING STAFF RESOURCES

Whether or not staffing resources can be described as adequate in quantitative terms, they are substantially inadequate, it was maintained, in the ability of the existing staffs to envision change or to cope with its consequences. Thus, for instance, many university staff were perceived as becoming increasingly conservative and more concerned with protecting the self-interest of the university sector than with the broader issues of the tertiary system at large. And, at the same time, CAE staff were seen as having been subject to so much change that they are frequently demoralised and lacking in an agreed sense of direction. It was thus agreed that far more discussion is required, at all levels of the system, of the wider purposes and procedures of Australian tertiary education, so that students, teachers and administrators might develop some sense of engagement in a common enterprise (Powell).

EDUCATION AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO WORK

This relationship, where examined, was seen as a currently dynamic and changing one, and in that light it was recommended:

> "That steps be taken to begin breaking down the idea that the value of a course of education lies mainly in fitting a person for a specific occupation;
>
> "That steps be taken to begin breaking down the idea that a person can be academically over-qualified for a particular job. We recognise that it follows from this that there can be no such thing as an over-supply of graduates or wasted education;
>
> "That we begin breaking down the practice of putting undue emphasis on academic credentials as a criterion of employment" (Abbey).

INDUSTRIAL ISSUES IN AUSTRALIAN TERTIARY EDUCATION

On particular industrial issues there were widely divergent opinions but, at the same time, there was a general agreement that the post-secondary sector of Australian education is importing, and in some general sense is becoming permeated by, the problems associated with the labour market at large. And in the course of this development there has been a sharpening, in the context of Australian post-secondary institutions, of all of the problems which generally characterise the labour market outside. This is occurring, moreover, at a rate faster than either employer or employee is able to cope with such problems. There is a need, therefore, for the acquisition, and the wide diffusion throughout the tertiary system, and especially at the middle and lower management levels, of a measure of expertise in the industrial relations arena. And beyond these general considerations there are three particular issues on which specific action is currently necessary. These relate to wage-fixation mechanisms, tenure and superannuation, and in regard to these matters it was recommended respectively that:

> "The problems likely to arise from unco-ordinated wage-fixing mechanisms covering employees in the post-secondary education system be referred to an appropriate national body - perhaps the Australian Education Council.
>
> "The assumptions on which tenure is based and the way in which it works be re-examined, with a view to protecting and enhancing institutional vigour and flexibility in a steady-growth situation but without in any way endangering reasonable personal job security and academic freedom.
>
> "The relevant superannuation schemes be re-examined with a view to facilitating greater staff mobility within and between different parts of the post-secondary education system, and to assisting with the development of alternative patterns of employment and procedures for voluntary early retirement" (Abbey).

EDUCATION POLICY IN THE CONTEXT OF PUBLIC POLICY GENERALLY

There was agreement that educational policy is progressively being co-ordinated at the national level with other areas of public policy-making, and that educational questions, therefore, are being perceived by the upper echelons of the decision-making system in the context of their relationship to other areas of public policy. But a consciousness of this does not extend very far below these higher levels; thus, many educational decisions within the Australian tertiary system are being made without a full or proper understanding of the context in which they are set. There is, therefore, a need for some kind of independent "Peak Council" to represent the whole of the post-secondary education system. And this need arises, perhaps, because of a change in recent years in the role of the Tertiary Education Commission, in particular the perceived reduction of its independence of government. A particular function of this so-called "Peak Council" would be the dissemination, throughout the system, of the much needed consciousness about public policy and educational decision-making referred to above. Though the actual mechanism which might secure this consciousness remained obscure, one interesting suggestion was that those who are engaged in tertiary institutions might for six months cease reading the various "Higher Education Supplements" and concentrate on the "Financial Review" instead! (Abbey)

THE INTEGRATION OF TAFE INTO A SYSTEM OF TERTIARY EDUCATION

Findings reported on this question indicated a firm belief that TAFE ought to be integrated into a comprehensive system of Australian tertiary education, and though the attainment of this objective will necessarily involve a very lengthy process, the time is right to take the initial steps to secure this end. The mode of this proposed integration was seen, furthermore, as of fundamental importance to the ultimate achievement of a balanced and satisfactory pattern of Australian post-secondary education. Thus, for instance, it was held that the process of integration should not militate against a substantial measure of broad flexibility in the operation of the various sectors; again, such integration should not result in a stratification of the system founded upon the distinct social status of the various institutions, and inhibiting the movement of students upwards and downwards within it (Abbey).

CONCLUSION

It would thus appear from the foregoing that in determining the future purposes of tertiary education in its Australian setting, academics, administrators, teachers and politicians might well address themselves to the resolution of the following issues:

- The closer integration of the three sectors of Australian post-secondary education and the articulation of overall objectives for a total and comprehensive tertiary system.
- The possibilities of tertiary education for effecting desirable social change as distinct from reacting to the self-interests of powerful and over-influential pressure groups which demand their own particular educational fodder.
- The need to attempt a careful examination of the likely implications for post-secondary education of the social and employment environment which might emerge at the end of the Twentieth Century.
- The need to modify the formal and rigid structures of tertiary education in Australia which impede the access to, and movement within, the system of a new and sharply increasing population of mature-age students.
- The need to imbue members of staff of the three tertiary sectors with a sense of engagement in a common educational enterprise at the post-secondary level.
- The need to reorient educational thinking away from the commonly prevailing view that the value of tertiary education is derived principally from its potential to fit people for specific occupations and that an oversupply of highly qualified graduates represents some kind of social or educational waste.
- The need, especially for those engaged in the lower and middle management levels of Australian post-secondary education, to acquire, with some urgency, a measure of expertise in handling the increasingly complex industrial problems of the tertiary education sector.
- The need to convey to those engaged in educational decision-making at the lower levels of the tertiary education system the outlook of the higher level decision-makers on educational policy as one aspect of public policy generally.
- The need to integrate more closely the technical and further education sector of Australian tertiary education with the university and CAE sectors, and in such a way that it does not result in a social stratfication of the post-secondary system at large.

In the sections of this book which follow, on "The Future Roles for Tertiary Education in Australia" and "The Pattern and Accountability of the New Era", many of these issues will be seen to re-emerge, albeit in different garb, as fundamental to the success or to the failure of Australian post-secondary institutions in meeting the unique demands of a new era for tertiary education.

SECTION 2

FUTURE ROLES FOR TERTIARY EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA

CHAPTER 2.1

HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE LABOUR MARKET

GARRY O'BYRNE AND JACK BROWN

The present policies being pursued by the Commonwealth Government toward higher education are starkly different from policies that had been pursued from 1965 to 1976.

O'Byrne and Lindsay (1978, p.11) state that

> "It is widely considered that higher education has emerged from a period of rapid expansion into a steady state or even into a state of decline (TEC 1978, p.36; Universities Commission 1975, p.72-76) but rapid growth has now ceased with the Federal Government's decision in May 1976 to hold student intake in universities at the 1976 level and a further decision in June 1977 to hold student intake in CAEs at the 1977 level (Universities Commission, p.140; TEC 1977, p.10). These two decisions are the crucial ones in establishing the no-growth policy, since if they are maintained, the effect after a brief lag will be to stabilise total student numbers and hence the system overall. More fundamentally these decisions signify a change in higher education from a demand or enrolment-driven system to a funds-driven system. Whereas government policy prior to 1975 was to fund according to the advice of the Commission on need, the current procedure involves the specification of a level of funds consistent with the government broad fiscal policy, after which the TEC apparently adjusts its assessment of needs to produce a level equal to that which can be financed by the level of funds provided."

The philosophical base of current policies as contrasted to pre-1976 policies is equally stark. The Martin Report (1964, p.1) emphasised that "higher education should be available to all citizens according to their inclination and capacity. Such a view accords with the aspirations of individuals and serves the needs of the community in promoting dynamic growth". Further, Martin (1964,p.1) went on to say that

> ". . . in certain specialized fields there may be conflict between individual aspirations and community needs. However, it believes that, in general, such conflict should be resolved by the operation of supply and demand. Research into future requirements for certain types of training is useful;

> but the committee does not believe that the entry of students into various courses should be restricted to forecasts of future needs. This would circumscribe educational opportunity and involve the risk of grave error."

The change in educational philosophy as expounded by Martin and incorporated in public policies from 1965 to 1976 are to be found in the financial guidelines and associated statements issued by the Commonwealth Minister for Education. Justification for the change from Martin's concern for the individual to manpower requirements of the community are provided in the various Tertiary Education Commission's Reports (TEC 1977, 1978, 1979), and the terms of reference given to the Committee of Inquiry into Education and Training (Williams Committee). The TEC's 1978 Report focussed on concern with unemployment and under-employment of graduates and the terms of reference given to Williams were largely concerned with "whether the education system, and particularly the pattern of post-secondary education, is matching satisfactorily the demands of the labour market" (Williams, 1979,p.1.).

Hence underlying the Commonwealth Government's public policy toward higher education is the philosophical base that higher education ought to be predominantly directed toward providing the labour market with its qualitative and quantitative manpower requirements. The current attack on educational philosophy that is social demand orientated, has no doubt been motivated by financial considerations in line with the Australian Government's more general economic, financial and political aims, reducing the rate of inflation and redistributing resources from the public to the private sector. However, mere financial constraints on education without justification cannot be seen as electorally viable given the educational aspirations of households. As a result the attack on the social demand orientated educational philosophy of period 1965 to 1976 has been clothed in a relevance garb, that is a role for higher education geared specifically to employer requirements. The theme "education for the work place" has therefore emerged as a popular philosophy; a philosophy strengthened in its appeal by current high unemployment levels. Implicit in this approach is the acceptance that at least part of the level of unemployment has as its cause the educational strategy that emerged following Martin's recommendation and the subsequent rapid expansion of the higher education sector through the development of colleges of advanced education (CAEs) and the expansion of universities. This change of emphasis suggests that manpower planning and its consequent reflection in higher education enrolments and programs could to some extent improve the employment level of graduates and hence marginally reduce the overall unemployment rates. The success of an educational strategy based on work force requirements in the final analysis must be strongly based on some form of manpower planning. The gestation time related to higher education studies requires, for this narrow approach to education, accurate forecasting of work-force requirements. Technological change here clouds the issue to the extent that manpower forecasting models based on extrapolation of current skill demand, augmented by subjective evaluation of the effect of technological progress, from previous experience are likely to be specifically wrong. If this is the case strong doubt must be cast on the validity of educational expenditure guidelines based on planning of this type.

The effects of technological change on employment and skill requirement has been recognised as a significant area of concern for at least two centuries; one may cite here the works of Smith, Ricardo and Marx. For the latter part of the Nineteenth Century to the Second World War little interest was generated in this area; economic inquiry was mainly concerned with the small change as evidenced in the so-called marginalist revolution in economic thought. Renewed interest in economic development in the post-war period has demonstrated the difficulty of isolating the contribution of technological change and education to economic growth process. In fact, technological change and education have been lumped together, treated and measured as an unexplained increment or as it is more quaintly called the residual component. The only thing that is evident is that technological progress has a qualitative and quantitative component. Early work in political economy stressed and was concerned mainly with the quantitative employment effects. However, in the area of educational planning qualitative factors have emerged as equally important especially in the area of curriculum development.

Recognition of the difficulties of manpower forecasting, particularly in regard to the effects of technological change in both its quantitative and qualitative dimension, highlights the conflict between flexible and specific educational inputs. And, if manpower forecasting is the basis of manpower planning the essential element is a clear understanding of the fundamental relationship between education and occupation. Here is revealed the dilemma; what is this fundamental quantitative and qualitative relationship? Do available data and existing models of the effects of changing technology enable educational planners to gain significant insights into this fundamental relationship at least to the extent that would justify such a significant change in higher educational strategy? If not, the change in higher educational strategy may well prove abortive in the short run and, because of the built-in inflexibility of such a strategy, extremely costly in both economic and social terms in the long run.

On the relationship between occupation and education Blaug, Preston and Ziderman (1967, p.7) hypothesise that there may be three connections. They are:

(a) There is a precise educational qualification for each occupation; too much or too little implies immediate disqualification.
(b) There is a minimum educational qualification for each occupation, and additional qualifications are economically wasteful.
(c) The value of a man in an occupation increases with his educational qualifications, perhaps first at an increasing rate and then at a decreasing rate as in the usual diminishing returns case.

Connections (a), (b), and (c) above, relating to a particular occupation, are depicted in Figure 1, with educational attainment measured as a scalar on the horizontal axis and productivity or performance in the occupation measured on the vertical axis.

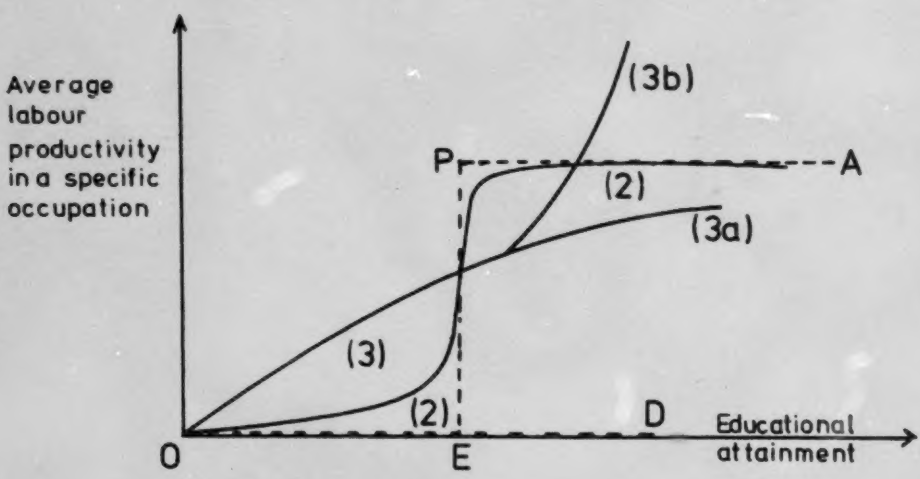

Fig. 1. Possible connections between occupation and education.

Case (a) is illustrated by OEPED; that is, the point P with all other points lying on the abscissa.
Case (b) is illustrated by OEPA or, perhaps more realistically, by curve (2), implying a sharp discontinuity in the functional relationship.
Case (c) is illustrated by a few representative curves or, possibly, by a straight line through the origin. There will be 'diminishing marginal productivity of education' whenever the curves flatten off, as in (3a).

Source: Blaug et al. (1967, p.7).

As Blaug et al. (1967, pp.7-8) point out, an important distinction emerges between cases (a) and (b) on the one hand, and case (c) on the other. If the real world is like cases (a) and (b) education planning and curriculum construction are straightforward exercises. If case (c) is closer to reality, then there is the problem of deciding on the appropriate level of education for each occupation. However, many of the assumptions underlying current public policy seem to be based on cases (a) and (b) and are applied equally to all three sectors of tertiary education.

Similarly, it is interesting to examine relevant data regarding employment, destination of graduates and enrolment to see if any of Blaug's theoretical notions do in fact explain student and employer behaviour.

Table 1. Labour force educational attainment: as at February, 1979

- Australian Labour Force	=	6,494,700
Total Employed	=	6,034,600
Total Unemployed	=	460,100
- Total employed person having degree or equivalent	=	425,000
- Total unemployed persons with degree or equivalent	=	12,300
As a percentage of total stock of degree holders or equivalent	=	2.89%
- Total employed persons with trade/technical level qualification	=	1,822,100
- Total unemployed persons with trade/technical qualifications.	=	86,800
As a percentage of total stock of trade/technical qualification holders	=	4.76%
- Total employed persons without post-school qualifications	=	3,792,000
- Total unemployed persons without post-school qualifications	=	356,500
As a percentage of total stock of non-qualified people	=	9.4%

Source: ABS (Cat.No. 6235.0) Labour Force Educational Attainments - Australia, February, 1979.

Table 1 depicts the total Australian Labour force, as at February, 1979, as containing 6,494,700 men and women, of which 6,034,600 are employed and 460,100 are unemployed. If we look at the educational qualifications of the labour force we find that 425,000 are degree holders, 1,773,900 hold trade/technical qualifications and 3,725,300 have no qualifications whatsoever. Table 1 is very interesting from the point of view of unemployment. For instance, some 12,300 persons holding degrees, or 2.89 per cent of total degree holders, compared with 86,800 or 4.76 per cent of holders of trade/technician qualifications of the total number holding trade/technician qualifications, whereas some 356,500 or 9.4 per cent persons without qualifications are unemployed. Relating these figures to the overall unemployment rate the following information in Table 2 can be generated.

Table 2. Unemployed as a total and percentage of total workforce: Australia, February 1979

Qualification	Unemployed	% of Total Australian Workforce
Degree	12,300	0.19
Trade/Technician	86,800	1.30
Unqualified	356,500	5.50
Total	455,600	6.99

Source: Derived from Table 1 above.

The significance of the Tables 1 and 2 lies in the fact that the probability of being employed increases with increased qualifactions. The figure might also refer to the worst aspects of credentialism as identified in the Williams Report (1979, p.463).

By way of comparison Table 3 has been included to give a balanced picture. February figures, it is claimed, are distorted by school leavers whereas it is stated that by July the labour market has been able to absorb many of these leavers. It is obvious that in fact there has been a drop in the total number seeking work but the percentage of graduates, trade/technical qualification holders and persons without qualifications remained in somewhat the same ratio in July as they had been in February. For instance, in February 2.69 per cent of all unemployed were graduates whereas in July the figure was 2.6 per cent; in February 10.05 per cent of all unemployed were trade/technical qualification holders whereas in July the figure was 17.4 per cent; and in February 78.2 per cent of persons unemployed were unqualified whereas in July the figure was 73.96 per cent. If the 18,700 15-19 year olds still at school in July who are seeking work are incorporated, then the figure of 73.96 per cent becomes 78.7 per cent and therefore the position of the unqualified is relatively, although marginally, more in July 1979 compared to February 1979.

Table 3. Persons looking for work: Educational attainment as at July 1979

- Total persons looking for work = 372,900
- Total graduates looking for work (1) = 9,700
- Total persons with trade/technical qualifications looking for work(2) = 64,900
- Total persons without qualifications looking for work (3) = 275,800
- Total persons still at school but looking for work(4) = 18,700

Footnotes:

(1) All of whom were in the 25-34 year old age group unemployed. Unemployed graduates equals 2.6 per cent of total persons unemployed.

(2)

15-19 yrs.	20-24 yrs.	25-34 yrs.	35+ yrs.
6,800	16,400	19,100	22,600

Unemployed persons with trade/technical qualifications equals 17.4 per cent of total persons unemployed.

(3)

15-19 yrs.	20-24 yrs.	25-34 yrs.	35+ yrs.
96,600	62,500	54,200	62,500

Unemployed persons without qualifications equals 73.98 per cent of total persons unemployed.

(4) If the 18,700 15-19 year olds are included who are at school but who want to find employment then there are some 177,800 young people under 24 years who are looking for work and who have no qualifications, that is, some 47.68% of the total number of persons unemployed.

Source: ABS (Cat.No. 6222.0) Persons Looking for Work: Australia, July 1979.

In terms of Blaug's theoretical considerations it would seem that data given in Tables 1 to 3 tend to mitigate against cases (a) and (b) though it cannot be said on the other hand that the data strongly support case (c). However, these data throw very little light on the connection between occupation and education.

Another avenue of investigation in attempting to glean the nature of the relationship between occupation, education and the labour market might be to examine the employment destination of graduates.

Hence Table 4 depicts the first destination of university graduates for the years 1973 and 1978; between 1973 and 1978 there had been a substantial change in the employment prospects for many types of occupations.

In 1973 29.8 per cent of university graduates were headed for humanities type work whereas in 1978 30.25 of university graduates were headed for the same destination; in 1973 14.0 per cent of university graduates were destined for their first job in economics/accountancy/commerce fields and in 1978 the comparable figure was 12.0 per cent - the small percentage drop probably reflects the fact that many prospective students had enrolled in colleges of advanced education rather than universities; in 1973 6.77 per cent of graduates were headed for their first job that required a behavioural science background - in 1978 this figure had risen to 9.69 per cent - a significant increase. Medicine also showed significant increases between 1973 and 1978; in 1973 the percentage of graduates proceeding into medicine was 4.3 per cent; in 1978 this had increased to 6.23 per cent. On the other hand education is an area where labour market influences might have been expected to prevail but the figures do not appear to support this view; for instance, in 1973 3.35 per cent of university graduates were proceeding to jobs in education and in 1978 the comparable figure was 3.49 per cent. The remainder of the destination and percentages reflect only marginal changes.

Table 4. First destination of university graduates - pass and honours

1973	Number	% of Total No.	1978	Number	% of Total No.
Humanities	4786	29.80	Humanities	6510	30.25
Economics & Commerce	2248	14.00	Economics & Accountancy	2599	12.00
Biological Sciences	1229	6.97	Biological Sciences	1723	8.00
Engineering & Applied Sciences	1206	7.50	Engineering & Applied Sciences	1350	6.27
Mathematics	1118	6.96	Mathematics	947	4.40
Behavioural Sciences[a]	1087	6.77	Behavioural Sciences [b]	2085	9.69
Law	792	4.93	Law	912	4.23
Physical Science	754	4.70	Physical Science	887	4.10
Medicine	690	4.30	Medicine	1341	6.23
Education	538	3.35	Education	751	3.49
Earth & Environmental Science	489	3.04	Earth Science	386	1.79
Agricultural Science & Forestry	289	1.80	Agricultural Science	289	1.34
Architecture	257	1.60	Architecture	517	2.40
Pharmacy	185	1.15	Pharmacy	202	0.93
Veterinary Science	145	0.90	Veterinary Science	205	0.95
Dentistry	121	0.75	Dentistry	215	1.00
Para-Medical Therapies	108	0.67	Para-Medical Studies	282	1.31
			Computer Science	314	1.45
Total	16042	- 100	Total	21515	-100

(a) No breakdown provided

(b) Behavioural Science
Psychology = 1200
Sociology = 357
Other Beh.Sc. = 216
Social Work = 312
2085

Source: Derived from GCCA Publications.

Table 4 does not shed much light on the nature of relationship between occupation and education, but it does tend to reflect changes in the pattern of employment of graduates.

Again in search for evidence that labour market trends are reflected in enrolment patterns, Table 5 depicts the following shifts. The total number of students commencing bachelor degree has risen slightly from 1976 to 1978, though there are individual differences within the field of study. Architecture /Forestry, Arts, Dentistry, Engineering, Law and Veterinary Science have lower enrolments in 1978 than they did in 1976; all of these fields except Dentistry have problems finding employment for their graduates. Perhaps this is some evidence that labour market factors do to some extent influence university enrolments, though it is fairly tenuous. Education, on the other hand, has risen, and this seems to be against the market trends where teachers are in over-supply.

Table 5. Enrolments by students commencing bachelor degree courses in universities by field of study 1976, 1977, 1978.

Field of study	1976	1977	1978
Agriculture/Forestry	727	666	629
Architecture	723	695	619
Arts	16358	15981	16245
Dentistry	355	327	308
Economics	5459	5489	5582
Education	2785	2723	3184
Engineering	2997	2818	2792
Law	2335	2465	2179
Medicine	1740	1744	1782
Science	7299	7179	7752
Veterinary Science	289	293	272
Total	41067	40380	41344

Source: TEC, 1978.

Table 6 depicts total enrolments in bachelor degree for Australian universities; the aggregate number has increased from 125,226 in 1976 to 128,275 in 1978, though specific fields of study such as Dentistry, Engineering, Law and Veterinary Science have fewer students enrolled in 1978 than they did in 1976. Table 6, of course, reflects student decisions taken not only in a particular year but also for some two to five years earlier. Again, evidence is not particularly strong in demonstrating a clear relationship between labour market forces and student decision-making responses.

Table 6. Bachelor degree enrolments in universities by field of study 1976, 1977, 1978.

Field of Study	1976	1977	1978
Agriculture/Forestry	2015	1998	1924
Architecture	2682	2868	2795
Arts	46341	47656	48077
Dentistry	1542	1539	1541
Economics	16307	16670	16647
Education	7499	7528	8383
Engineering	9442	9434	9220
Law	8249	8315	8053
Medicine	8909	9089	9238
Science	20685	21363	21160
Veterinary Science	1555	1213	1237
Total	125226	127673	128275

Source: TEC, 1978.

In terms of total enrolments in universities, Table 7 shows that in 1974 some 15,262 students or 10.7 per cent of total university enrolments were in higher degrees, whereas the comparable figures for 1978, 19,164 or 14.9 per cent, were significantly higher, that is, there is a fairly definite swing to postgraduate studies. Looking at bachelor degrees in 1974, some 116,368 or 81.5 per cent of total enrolments were in undergraduate courses, and the comparable figures for 1978 were 128,874 or 90.5 per cent, which reflect little change in percentage terms, though there has been an increase in the actual number enrolling.

Table 7. University enrolments 1974-1978, bachelor and higher degree, and type of enrolment.

Total enrolments. Universities

	Higher	%	Bachelor	% *	All
1974	15,262	10.7	116,368	81.5	142,859
1975	16,676	13.9	120,119	80.9	128,338
1976	17,589	14.1	124,575	80.9	153,960
1977	18,430	14.5	127,358	80.4	158,411
1978	19,164	14.9	128,874	80.5	160,035

* % do not total 100 because Postgraduate diploma and other non-degrees courses have been omitted.

Total Commencing Degrees each year: Universities

	Higher	%	Bachelor	%**	All
1974	4,895	9.4	39,012	75.2	51,865
1975	5,352	9.9	40,556	74.7	54,326
1976	5,434	9.9	41,074	75.2	54,026
1977	5,536	10.2	40,358	74.7	54,054
1978	5,485	13.2	41,546	75.5	54,994

** % do not total 100 because non-degree courses have been omitted.

Total Enrolments, Universities - By Full-Time, Part-Time and Part-Time Externals

	Full-Time	%	Part-Time	%	Pt.Ext.	%	All
1974	93,005	65	40,845	28.6	9,009	6.3	142,859
1975	97,110	65	42,336	28.5	8,892	5.99	148,338
1976	100,605	65.3	43,857	28.5	9,498	6.16	153,960
1977	102,901	64.95	45,827	28.9	9,683	6.1	158,411
1978	101,354	63.3	47,191	29.5	11,490	7.2	160,035

Source: ABS, University Statistics, 1978.

If we examine that section of Table 7 depicting total students commencing degrees from 1974 to 1978 the same trend is evident here as was found in the first section of Table 7. For instance in 1974 some 4,895 students or 9.4 per cent of total enrolments were in higher degrees and some 39,012 students or 75.2 per cent were in bachelor degrees. For 1978 the comparable figures were 5,485 students or 13.2 per cent enrolled in higher degrees and 41,546 students or 75.5 per cent in bachelor degrees. Hence there is evidence that more students are pursuing postgraduate studies whereas the percentage enrolled in bachelor degrees has remained fairly constant. Do these increased enrolments in postgraduate studies reflect labour market requirements or are they a form of screening and creeping credentialism? Or, again, do they reflect deliberate government policy on enrolment?

Table 8. All graduates: supply of diploma bachelor and higher degree graduates - Australia.

Year	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	Annual Growth Rate
Unis.	27,162	28,270	29,813	30,613	32,043	33,096	4.0%
CAEs	18,536	20,504	24,669	28,852	31,492	33,252	12.4%
Total	45,698	48,774	54,482	59,467	63,535	66,348	7.7%

Source: ABS Statistics for Universities and Colleges of Advanced Education, 1978.

Table 8 shows the supply of diploma, bachelor and higher degree graduates for Australia, by year from 1973 to 1978. The most striking feature of the table is the dramatic increase in the supply of graduates by CAEs; from supplying 18,536 graduates in 1973 to 33,252 in 1978, the CAEs have in fact exceeded the output of universities in 1978. Of the university graduates approximately 78 per cent are first degrees, 13 per cent postgraduate diplomas and 9 per cent higher degrees. The comparable breakdown for CAE graduates is 83 per cent first degree/diploma, 16.9 per cent postgraduate diplomas, and 0.1 per cent higher degrees.

Conclusions

A cursory examination of Blaug's theoretical parameters on possible connections between occupation and education suggest that these important questions cannot be answered from existing data. This also suggests that more data of a different kind would be relevant to this problem. But here again we are confronted by another dilemma; even given the fact that the right questions could be asked of employers, and reliable information is forthcoming, still doubts must be cast on the efficacy of manpower forecasts based on current requirements due to the difficulties associated with incorporating technological change into forecasting models. This may well illustrate the point that rational educational planning may prove to be as elusive as it is dangerous. The thrust of the Martin Report which gave a role to impersonal market forces in adjustment at the margin of both qualitative and quantitative educational inputs may, under the circumstances, prove to be the most efficient strategy not only with regard to workforce requirements but also to community aspirations and demand. Importantly, such an approach also recognises that higher education is concerned with something more than mere economic performance. If educational planners wish to interfere in this process they must be absolutely sure of the social, political and economic implications of their actions. Enough has been said here to shed serious doubt on the efficacy of central planning as an instrument for reorientating the higher educational system.

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CHAPTER 2.2

WHY IS SO MUCH IMPORTANCE BEING ATTACHED TO TECHNICAL AND FURTHER EDUCATION (TAFE) IN THE EIGHTIES?

J.F. LIMBRICK

This topic is extraordinarily wide in scope, so in order to focus on some key issues I propose to look at four questions which the subject seems likely to prompt in most minds.

1) Who will be attaching importance to TAFE?
2) What do those persons or groups think TAFE is and what are their expectations?
3) What is TAFE anyway?
4) Is TAFE in the '80s likely to be different from TAFE as it is now or has been in the immediate past?

It doesn't matter much which order these questions are dealt with since they are closely interrelated. However, I propose to deal with the last two first and catch up with the others later on.

It is worth looking again at the report of the Kangan Committee on TAFE to consider how they sought to define this area of education. (Kangan 1974, pp. 3-6). It obviously gave them trouble. The Committee noted the Australian habit (not yet entirely abandoned) of thinking about this area of post-secondary education very much in technical/vocational terms with only a faint element of further education. It concluded that an important consequence was that the community failed then (and it probably fails now) to see technical education as an integral part of the educational system as a whole.

The Committee went on to reject what they called the British approach of defining TAFE in institutional terms, but perhaps by force of circumstances much of the discussion in the report refers to technical colleges as places where TAFE is mostly conducted.

Ultimately, the Committee chose not to define TAFE in any broad conceptual way but settled for a descriptive definition as follows. TAFE is

> "That education by means of which the individual can:
>
> (A) acquire or make progress towards acquiring, by full-time or part-time studies, assessable occupational qualifications involving mental, manual or social skills: and/or
>
> (B) acquire or seek to acquire, usually on a part-time basis, knowledge or skills for secondary, additional, or supplementary occupational purposes, or for the purpose of personal development or enrichment, or to utilise leisure creatively."

The key to TAFE is therefore its occupational or vocational orientation. It is not general education but vocational education. Notwithstanding these definitional problems (or perhaps because of them), it remains the case that the three sectors of post-secondary education presently embraced by the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) are not defined in mutually exclusive terms. I believe I am correct in saying that the university and CAE sectors are, in effect, defined institutionally, whereas TAFE is not. I don't believe that this causes or need cause, any very severe administrative problems, but the situation does have defects which may well hamper the future development of TAFE.

Curiously enough, I believe that the community's concept of what TAFE is about, although probably too narrow, is closer to the "ideal" than is the community's concept of what universities and CAEs are supposed to be about. I would also assert that at the present time this contrast is likely to bring more problems for TAFE than the other two post-secondary sectors simply because there are more precise and concrete expectations abroad as to how TAFE is expected to perform than is the case with the other institutions.

This brings me to the question of whether TAFE in the '80s is in any sense likely to be a different creature by comparison with the past. My answer is a fairly resounding "yes". There are many cogent reasons for this.

First, the physical aspects. There are still very major deficiencies in the scale and quality of facilities from which TAFE is made available to the community. This difficult situation was clearly noted by the Kangan committee (Kangan, ibid., p. xxvii, especially conclusions 26 - 28) and despite enhanced financial support from the commonwealth and state governments in recent years TAFE is still very far from reaching a generally acceptable standard in this respect. In short, there is still very far from a reasonable "balance" between the three post-secondary sectors in terms of capacity to handle their respective student populations effectively.

The kind of support which TAFE has received in recent years from government for capital expenditure - both for new and replacement accommodation - will need to be extended through the 1982-84 triennium, and at least the next as well, if this situation is to be corrected. In addition, there are other factors to which I will presently refer which are almost certain to accentuate this need.

Second, there is clear evidence of a strong continuing growth in demand for TAFE. It is the only post-secondary sector where enrolments and most importantly teaching effort are expanding significantly. Indeed, teaching effort is growing proportionally faster than student numbers, mainly because the full-time student component is the fastest growing segment in the total TAFE student population.

To quote a few statistics, TAFE authorities expect student enrolments to rise by 26 per cent between 1979 and 1984. Within this total, full-time students are expected to increase by 54 per cent. As to teaching effort, comprehensive estimates are not available but in New South Wales teaching effort is likely to rise by 40 per cent in contrast to a 16 per cent rise in enrolments. Broadly the teaching effort required in TAFE for full-time students is about five times that needed for part-time students.

This phenomenon is largely unrelated to financial constraints now imposed on post-secondary education. As Peter Karmel has shown, the more obvious and convincing explanation is that student preferences are changing, and further it is not merely a case of students moving from one post-secondary sector to another (Karmel, 1979).

A third major reason that TAFE is facing a new era in the '80s is, of course, the economic situation, and the concomitant effects of this on employment and the labour market. This will show up in a number of ways. In relation to what might be called the traditional areas of TAFE - streams 1-5 - the rate of technological progress, and the restructuring of industry to meet new competitive challenges both domestic and foreign, will generate pressure for a wider range of course offerings. These will inevitably contain a higher proportion of full-time courses, which will also have to be more interdisciplinary in character.

Even more important, the labour market will, for many years yet, be a buyers' market, with employers often able to choose from a plentiful supply of job-seekers - who will quite reasonably demand the opportunity to prepare themselves with the skills and experience most likely to lead to stable employment. This will apply not only to young people who have completed 10 or 11 years at school and who see no point in going on to university or CAE education, but also those adults who need refresher or retraining courses in new skills to help them maintain their own employability.

Fourth - the demonstrated, and I suspect continuing inability of schools to prepare many young people adequately for entry or transition to employment will drive increasing numbers to seek alternative vocational preparation in TAFE: remedial and bridging type courses will also continue to be significant requirements.

An increasingly uncomfortable phenomenon which will become evident in this situation will be the disposition of industry to shift the costs of training from itself (and its customers) to the community at large. This tendency, which has not been offered noticeable resistance elsewhere in post-secondary education, is already evident in the largest single area of TAFE operations - the technical instruction of apprentices - and seems most likely to become significant in relation to other, less closely regulated, occupations.

If this is the outlook - even if over-simplified - what are the groups that regard TAFE's importance so highly, and what are their expectations?

In no particular order of importance these groups are government, industry, students actual and potential, and the personnel of TAFE itself.

The attitude of government to TAFE is, I believe, both complex and ambiguous - that is, at least if the government's actions rather than ministerial statements are taken into account. In one sense, governments see TAFE as the last frontier in education - the last place where education may possibly solve some of the problems which bulk large in the mind of the government. These are, of course, the need to develop and maintain a workforce with the skills required by industry; and the need both to prepare young people for the move from education through to employment, and in the process (and in the final result) reduce unemployment to some significant degree.

By way of illustration here is what the Minister for Education stated in the course of the commonwealth government's response to the report of the Williams Committee of Enquiry into Education and Training:

> "The government takes the view that the expansion of TAFE in response to community and industry needs and the qualitative improvement of the TAFE sector must be essential elements in any strategy for the development of the tertiary education and training system . . . ways in which quality in the TAFE sector can be improved are currently under consideration by the TAFE Council. These will be brought forward by the Tertiary Education Commission in due course. The government is prepared to consider in the context of the 1980 guidelines for TAFE programs in 1981 proposals from the Tertiary Education Commission for support of quality improvements in TAFE additional to those at present being supported by the Commonwealth" (Senate Weekly Hansard, 1979, No. 22, p. 2785).

This instance must be seen against a fairly widespread feeling (exemplified publicly on several occasions by the Prime Minister) that some sectors of education - especially schools - are not doing their job. This undoubted disenchantment with the education industry as a budgetary monster that doesn't seem to kick the goals the government wants to score has had some effect on TAFE as well.

It is instructive to look at the guidelines for education commissions for 1981 which were announced by the Commonwealth Minister for Education on 22 May, 1980 last.

- Not unexpectedly funds for universities and CAEs were cut back - this took place on the capital side with recurrent funds being held constant.
- Despite an acknowledged overall decline in enrolments in schools their funds were increased by $21.2M or 3.1 per cent, most of this going to non-government schools.
- A slight increase was provided for general purpose grants - $1.7M. or 4.0 per cent. However, this was only in respect of fees compensation and recognises increased student numbers. It did not contribute to any of the very necessary innovatory developments now needed. There was no increase in capital funds, these being held constant at

$91.5M. It should be noted that this latter amount includes $17.9M. representing the third of four instalments of the special $50M. supplementary grant promised by the commonwealth government at the 1977 elections.

- The Minister noted that a further $11M. for TAFE in 1980 was available to TAFE for projects under the Transition from School to Work Programme but he either forgot, or omitted to say, that the same amount is also available to schools both government and non-government under the same programme.

I don't wish to labour the point unduly, but the approach adopted to education funding for 1981 leaves me with doubts about whether the commonwealth government is going to continue putting its money where its mouth is as far as TAFE is concerned.

The attitude and expectations of industry toward TAFE can, on the whole, be described as utilitarian and I expect them to become even more so in the '80s for reasons I have already touched on. In particular, there will be a heavy onus on TAFE to maintain the relevance of its courses in the face of rapidly changing technologies, as well as to play a larger role in the initial vocational preparation of young people. The question of access on the part of adults for the purposes of recurrent education will also be of growing importance and will need to be correlated to a substantial extent with the needs of industry.

What TAFE must not do is succumb to a combination of pressure on the one hand, and a temptation to expand activities on the other, by taking on vocational training tasks which are properly the responsibility of industry itself. I have already indicated that industry will need to be reminded quite firmly that the education system, as a whole, and TAFE in particular, cannot produce ready made "hands" and it is quite unreasonable to expect it to do so. Having said this, there is no doubt that in many areas the standards of training within industry are abysmal, and one pathway to improvement is to introduce more systematic instruction techniques and programmes. Developments along these lines will require closer links between TAFE and industry.

The expectations of students toward TAFE are, I think, quite interesting and somewhat complex. To take the case of young people, there is no doubt that many who wish to leave school and gain employment see TAFE as a necessary and useful bridging institution to help them on their way. Others again regard TAFE as a second best choice in lieu of employment simply because it often manages to provide a more realistic type of vocational preparation than is available anywhere else. Others again turn toward TAFE in the hope of obtaining assistance to remedy or upgrade deficient educational attainments.

While these are reasonable aspirations from the students point of view, it has to be observed that the TAFE system itself does not welcome this role without reservation. Some see it as yet another way of downgrading the status of TAFE as that part of the education system which deals with the more difficult and less academically gifted stratum of the population. Others, while accepting the role in the short-term, feel that schools in particular might perhaps learn from TAFE experience in dealing with these young people, and by offering a wider variety of curricula, more effectively assist young people to prepare themselves for life beyond the education system.

As far as older students are concerned, i.e. those who are not concerned with initial vocational preparation, these will see TAFE as needing to broaden its range of offerings but, at the same time, maintaining the felxibility and ease of entry which, rightly or wrongly, is thought to distinguish the TAFE sector from other elements of post-secondary education.

Finally, what about the expectations of TAFE teachers and administrators? The most important aspect which impresses a layman like myself is the general feeling of dedication and sense of responsibility toward the students who seek education and assistance from TAFE courses. I think it is true to say that within TAFE there is a very conscious realisation of community expectations about what TAFE might be expected to do. This is quite naturally mingled with fears that these expectations might only partly be realised because of deficiencies in both accommodation and staffing.

I have already observed there are substantial shifts taking place in the nature of the courses being offered through TAFE, with a growing emphasis on full-time, as distinct from part-time and short courses. The conequence is that the provision of student places and ancillary accommodation is still, in far too many institutions, grossly inadequate both as to numbers and quality: at the same time, the teaching patterns in the classrooms and workshops are changing quite radically and placing severe demands on staff development within TAFE. In short, in this respect TAFE will be required to produce a much more intense teaching effort in 1980 by comparison with earlier years.

Another group in the community with a serious interest in TAFE is the other segment of the secondary education sector - the universities and CAEs both have been showing distinct signs of growing interest in TAFE type courses, and this is a development to be commended if it is taking place for the right reasons. The Williams Report for example referred to the possibility of contracting between institutions for the provision of courses. This kind of development should have as its major aim economies in resource use, that is, the institutions best equipped in terms of staff, equipment and experience to develop particular courses should have the chance to do so. On the other hand it will be thoroughly bad if universities and CAEs seek to take over the provision of

TAFE courses simply to preserve or extend their own range of activities regardless of whether it is appropriate for them to do so.

CONCLUSION

I don't think it is necessary or desirable for me to sum up my remarks in a formal way. What I have tried to do is to highlight a few issues which I believe are important in relation to the topic of why TAFE will continue to be of major and growing importance within the education system in the '80s. Perhaps there is one broad point that should be made and that is that although TAFE still has not, in some respects, been fully integrated into what we might call the education industry, the progress which it has made in the last few years with additional funds and additional community interest has at least partly remedied that deficiency. But there is still some way to go and I think that the progress which has been achieved in the last five years will have to be maintained for at least another five if TAFE is to be regarded in the fullest sense as an equal partner with the other elements of the education system.

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CHAPTER 2.3

IS THERE A PLACE FOR A LIBERAL EDUCATION?

MAX CHARLESWORTH

In his Metaphysics Aristotle asks himself the question, "What use is metaphysics?", and he gives the short but correct answer, "Metaphysics is useless". Metaphysics is the attempt to understand the nature and structure of reality - what there is, what sorts of things there are (whether, for example, material things are the only things there are, or whether there are other non-material kinds of things), and how things hang together (if indeed, they do hang together). And Aristotle's point is that this kind of theorising or speculation is something that is worthwhile for its own sake.

Like love and human friendship, like the production and enjoyment of works of art, like religion, thinking about the nature of reality is a human activity that is intrinsically valuable and not just valuable as a means to some further end. In fact, all these "useless" activities are distinctively human activities in that they distinguish human beings from other beings in the world. To the questions, why engage in art? why think about the nature of reality? the only good answer is: "Because it is part and parcel of being human".

We cannot therefore measure the utility of metaphysics any more than we can measure the utility of love and friendship and art and religion.
These human activities are non-measurable and "unaccountable", at least in the obvious and clear-cut sense in which the success or failure of instrumental activities can be measured or accounted for.

What Aristotle says about metaphysics can be extended to the various branches of knowledge which have traditionally been called the liberal arts and which make up the core curriculum, so to speak, of a liberal education - history, literature, anthropology (in the wide sense) mathematics, science, the study of art, the study of religion, etc. Indeed, the very definition of the liberal arts in classical and medieval and Renaissance views of education was that they were kinds of learning without any kind of usefulness. They were sharply distinguished from the "useful" or practical arts and this distinction served as the basis for the distinction between education in the strict sense and training. One was educated in the liberal arts, but one was trained or instructed in the useful arts.

This then, schematically put, is the traditional defence of a liberal education that has been presented by universities and other agencies of higher learning ever since the time of the author of the Metaphysics. No doubt this ideal has been interpreted in different ways at different times within European culture. Again, no doubt it has been distorted by what Marcuse has called the "technologisation of reason" which occurred in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries when all knowledge came to be seen in technological and utilitarian terms - in other words, knowledge was seen as valuable in so far as it produced a technology which enabled us to control nature and also to control human behaviour. Further, we can agree with some neo-Marxist critics that the traditional defence of liberal education, and the basic distinction between "theory" and "practice" on which it rests, has often been exploited for socio-political purposes in that it places primary emphasis upon understanding the world rather than on changing it. But, by and large, it is in terms of this ideal that the liberal arts or the humanities, and the liberal education they constitute, have so far been defended. To the question "Is there a place for a liberal education?" the traditional reply was that a liberal education was centrally concerned with the cultivation and nurture of those branches of knowledge, and the habits of mind and character they involved, which were distinctively human.

Unfortunately, in times of barbarism and cultural darkness, such as the present, this traditional defence of liberal education sounds like wild-eyed romanticism. In an age that is powerfully influenced by that technologisation of reason I mentioned just now, and by the utilitarian mentality that is its offspring, it is almost impossible to defend liberal education in terms of its "useless" cultivation and nurture of the distinctively human. How can we realistically expect those in charge of the public funds to spend a large part of the national budget on liberal education if it is defined in this way? One might expect that the government would support liberal education to about the same level as it at present supports the visual arts, theatre, opera, etc. But that would be about all.

It is no doubt because of this sense of embarrassment that some contemporary defenders of liberal education have attempted to show that it does after all have some kind of practical relevance. Thus it has been suggested that, although we cannot justify the liberal arts in terms of their social and economic utility, there is luckily a pre-established harmony between the cultivation of the liberal arts and socio-economic progress. Thus, a number of American educationists have argued that in the 1960s and 1970s the explosion of educational opportunities of all kinds had a direct and massive effect upon the American economy. In much the same way, those who argue at present for increase in research funding rely upon the idea that while pure scientific research cannot really be justified in terms of its practical and technological application (that kind of pragmatic justification would be destructive of the ideal of pure science), there is fortunately a de facto connexion between the pursuit of pure research and socio-economic progress.

In more general terms, it has also been argued by the embarrassed defenders of liberal education that the qualities of mind and character cultivated by the study of the liberal arts are in some way connected with the promotion and maintenance of a democratic society or what Karl Popper calls an "open society". Without vision the people perish, and without the peculiar vision that a liberal education provides a democratic people will perish. Popper himself argued that the scientific habit of mind was characterised by a distrust of any kind of absolutism and the cultivation of an open-minded approach in which all truths are seen as tentative and provisional. And he held that this habit of mind had as its social concomitant an "open" or democratic society characterised by an "anti-utopian" spirit and a "piecemeal social engineering" approach to social problems. For Popper indeed the community of scientists devoted to the open-minded and tolerant pursuit of the truth by a process of trial and error, or "conjecture and refutation", was the model for the democratic or open society. What Popper says about the connexion between the scientific mind and democratic socio-political values has been generalised into the argument that, as has been said, there is a direct connexion between the values that a liberal education fosters and the values that are basic to a democratic society. In this perspective liberal education is justified in terms of its socio-political effects.

In my view these attempts to provide a justification of liberal education, in terms either of its socio-economic relevance or of its socio-political effects, are misconceived. It may well be that there was a connexion in the 1960s and 1970s between an enlargement in liberal education and pure research on the one hand and an increase in the American Gross National Product (GNP) on the other hand. But it has not been proved, nor can it be proved, that there is some kind of necessary connexion between the two. In the same way while it is true that in the past pure scientific research has generated practical technological discoveries which have in turn increased the sum of human happiness, it cannot be shown that an increase in pure scientific research necessarily leads to an increase in human happiness. We are now well aware that constant increases in the GNP do not necessarily lead to an increase in human welfare, and we are becoming aware that scientific and technological progress does not necessarily lead to human progress.

The same goes for the supposed connexion between the values fostered by liberal education and the values basic to democratic society. While one might expect that there would be an affinity between the liberal "mind" and democratic values we really cannot justify the former in terms of the latter. In other words, there is no necessary connexion between the two and the value of liberal education does not depend on the fact that it contributes to the maintenance of democratic society. The raison d'etre for the study of philosophy or history or literature or art is not that this latter directly or indirectly promotes certain socio-political values.

As I have said, it would be very convenient if it could be argued that liberal education was socially useful. It is much more difficult to justify a place for it in the highfalutin philosophical terms I have used, namely that it is concerned to foster those habits of mind and character that are an essential part of being human. This is clearly not the kind of argument that is likely to win politicians and influence bureaucrats. However, I am afraid that this is the only legitimatic way of defending liberal education. If it cannot be justified in these terms it cannot be justified at all.

So far I have been talking about liberal education in very general terms. Let me try to be a little more concrete and particular by setting down a rough and ready list of the habits and qualities of mind and character - the "virtues" as Aristotle would call them - typically produced by liberal education.

1. The capacity for creative imagination and understanding, by which I mean the ability to think oneself into unfamiliar situations and intellectual positions, to put oneself into the boots of others and quite alien views and outlooks, to enter sympathetically into other cultural "forms of life".
2. The capacity for critical analysis, by which is meant the ability to distance ourselves from our emotional reactions to things and to appraise them in an objective and discriminating way. To be a successful anthropologist you have to be a "participant observer", that is at once involved sympathetically (as in 1 above) in the life of the people you are studying and yet able to stand apart and observe it dispassionately. I would say that to be a successful human being you also have to be a "participant observer" and to my mind this is one of the chief virtues of a liberal education.
3. Associated with the capacity for critical analysis and objective appraisal is the capacity for methodological discretion, in other words knowing what kind of approach, what method of proof, what kind of certainty, what expectations, are appropriate to the various forms of enquiry. Thus, we should not, for instance, try to investigate or discuss or prove moral issues in the same way as we investigate, discuss and prove mathematical propositions.
4. An awareness of the historical and cultural context of truth, in other words a sense of the historical and cultural relativity of human knowledge - which does not necessarily mean any kind of relativism.
5. This awareness needs to be balanced by an ability to think formally and abstractly, to universalise and to theorise.
6. A "hermeneutic" ability to interpret symbolic meanings and to "read between the lines", or to discern the "sub-text" within the text.

7. The ability to live with doubt and uncertainty and ambiguity without falling into any kind of empty scepticism.
8. The ability to recognize the value of intellectual "traditions" and to think creatively within them. The implications of this "sense of tradition" are (a) the recognition that the pursuit of understanding is a collaborative and social task (we cannot really "go it alone"); (b) the awareness of the danger of wanting to reinvent the wheel.
9. The ability to recognise that there are some things that are valuable in themselves and other things that are valuable as means to other ends. Or, put in another way, that there are some things that serve us and other things that we must serve.
10. A sense of transcendence, by which I mean the awareness that reality, and other people, always escape any final formulation, that things are never definitively "sewn up", that radical surprises are always possible.

This is, as is obvious, a fairly random and arbitrary list of the virtues of a liberal education. However, in my view these are the central qualities and habits of mind and character that issue, or ought to issue, from a liberal education (though one could also mention other minor virtues such as, for example, the ability to listen in an active and perceptive way).

As I remarked before, it is difficult to give any sense to the notions of measurement and accountability in this area. How could one, for example, measure the success or failure of an educational process of fostering the relatively simple ability to listen perceptively? A fortiori how can we measure success or failure in developing complex abilities such as creative imagination or empathetic understanding or hermeneutic interpretation?

If, as I have said, there is a place - a necessary and fundamental place - for a liberal education, I would not wish to suggest that all is well with our faculties of arts and schools of humanities which at present pretend to be the main agencies of liberal education. In fact all is not well and the teaching of the liberal arts is in a state of confusion at the moment. The recent debate over the Harvard core curriculum is a symptom of this confusion and there are many other instances.

On this matter, I will have to restrict myself to making two very general points:

1. One does not have to be a Marxist or even a neo-Marxist to argue that liberal education has been used to mark and legitimate the sense of difference and superiority of the ruling élites in our culture. And this has, in my view, caused liberal education to be framed in a strongly esoteric way. A liberal education that was genuinely open and accessible to a wide variety of people would, in my view, be formulated in a very different spirit.

2. This is connected with a further point about what I would call the human relevance of liberal education. I know that "relevance" is a weasel word and I must confess that for myself every time I hear the word I reach involuntarily for my gun. Nevertheless I think we have to admit that some forms of liberal education are completely irrelevant and trivial in human terms. They may be useful in keeping academic research workers off the streets but they are humanly unimportant.

What is relevant and irrelevant cannot, I hasten to add, be decided in an a priori way. A course on Byzantine church art may very well be more humanly relevant than a trendy course on say a Freudian analysis of federal politicians.

Once again, I think that it would make a very great difference to the way in which one framed and shaped liberal education if one used the criterion of human relevance in the way I have indicated.

CHAPTER 2.4

A NEW ERA IN RECURRENT EDUCATION?

J.A. McDONELL

My answer to the query contained in the title of this paper is, unequivocally, "Yes". I do not see how it can be otherwise; but before presenting the arguments that lead me to that conclusion I had better explain my usage of the term "recurrent education", which a Canadian colleague is wont to describe as a wholly owned subsidiary of the OECD!

The problem about this field of educational thought and writing is that there is no commonly-agreed nomenclature. I appreciate the problem of the editors of the World Yearbook of Education 1979 (Schuller & Megarry 1979); the editorial contains this passage.

> "Thus the choice of the 1979 *theme* was not a difficult one - though the different nuances and connotations of the terms 'lifelong learning', 'recurrent education' and 'continuing education' . . . made the choice of a *title* problematic. The book was planned in June 1978 but the exact title was not resolved until December."

In fact, the editors settled for the title "Recurrent Education and Lifelong Learning".

Most writers who use the term "Lifelong Learning" do so to describe an educational concept or philosophy - a view of education as an actitivity whose place and role in our lives are rather different from those which have set the present-day pattern of educational services and institutions.

This present-day pattern rests on what is often referred to as the "front-loading" model - a view that education is something which young people need to "get", in preparation for adult life. Moreover, the conventional wisdom is that the more education you can get in this phase of life, the "better off" you are likely to be. In this model, education becomes strongly identified with schooling and the response of our society to the demands of voting parents that "more education" be available for their children has been to provide more secondary school resources (since increasing retention rates beyond the age of compulsory schooling has been seen as a desirable end) and to encourage dramatic increases in the numbers of post-secondary institutions and of their students.

Particularly within the last decade, there has been a growing tide of criticism of this "more-of-the-same" approach. In general, these criticisms have followed one of two main themes. One concerns inequality and the need for social change in industrialised societies and the place of education in all of this. This "radical approach" is exemplified by several of the chapters in the book by Houghton and Richardson (1974). In one form, the line of argument is that the present education system leads to an institutionalisation of knowledge and hence a concentration of power and social controls. To overcome this, it is argued, we need "democratisation of knowledge", a devolution of decision-making (as to who learns what, when and where), a shift from curriculum-based education to problem-centred learning (Dewey and Freire tend to be invoked here) and the freeing of education from institutional constraints so that delineations between education, work and leisure are eroded. The present educational system is seen as not only perpetuating social inequalities but generating educational inequalities - difficulties of re-entering the system are greater for those who have left it earlier and the older age groups, which pay most of the taxes which finance the system, get a negligible direct return from it.

The other line of criticism concentrates on the inappropriateness of the "front-loading" system to the needs of an industrialised society. Change, not stability, appears to be the hallmark of such societies; the idea of a once-and-for-all "education for life" becomes incongruous if individuals are likely to have several occupational careers during their working lives. At the same time, a number of factors are combining to decrease the average fraction of one's whole life spent in the work-force - later entry to it, earlier retirement, increased lifespan, periods of unemployment, shorter working week. This is changing our lifestyles and requires an educational response which the traditional system is not geared to provide. It is also argued that many of the tensions which have appeared within our education system since the mid-1960s can be attributed to a misplaced belief that the provision of more education, but within the same cycle of education, work and retirement, compartmentalised and in that order, is the way to meet increased educational needs of society. There are many who argue, as does Bengtsson (1979, p.17), that

> ". . . it has become increasingly clear during the 1970s that this traditional life-cycle model is in need of change and that one of the possible strategies for changing it is recurrent education."

Both sets of argument lead to the proposition that "lifelong learning" is the concept which should underpin the design of education systems. There is nothing new in the idea that we continue to learn throughout our lives, or that our initial schooling should equip us to pursue lifelong learning (although it can be argued that, while schooling has that alleged aim, it is often singularly ineffective in motivating the school leaver to engage in such pursuit). What is new is the notion that the educational resources of our society should be redesigned to make lifelong learning a practical possibility - a normal aspect of adult behaviour, not a spare-time occupation crammed into life at the expense of either leisure or (in rare instances) work. Thus we find the UNESCO International Commission on the Development of Education producing, as its first recommendation (UNESCO, 1972, p. 181):

> "We propose lifelong learning as the master concept for educational policies in the years to come for both developed and developing countries."

This concept of lifelong learning is at the heart of a great deal of literature which has appeared within the last decade (Schuller and Megarry's (1979) book provides an excellent overview of the mainstream of this literature). The idea appears to have gained widespread acceptance as a principle; the problem is, how to put it into practice? A major attempt to address this question was made in the OECD's policy report "Recurrent Education : A Strategy for Lifelong Learning" (OECD/CERI, 1973). While not having originated the term "recurrent education", it was this report which brought it into prominent usage. As its title indicated, this document attacked the question of how lifelong learning might be implemented. Its central proposition is ". . . the distribution of education over the lifespan of the individual in a recurring way." One of its authors summarises this thrust of the report in the following way (Kallen, 1979, p. 48).

> "According to the report, students must be able to take up and leave study throughout their lives. This implies that courses should include full- and part-time variants of equal standing and quality. The existing post-compulsory education system and adult education must become part of an integrated recurrent education system."

Whether or not the authors of this report intended it, the document gives the strong impression that formal "courses" are the principal forms of education with which they associate the notion of recurrent education. However we know that, under present conditions, the participation of adults in such courses represents only a small fraction of the adult learning which is already going on within the community. We know of the large numbers of adults who repeatedly spend many hours attending (or following up interests aroused in) workshops, seminars, conferences and special short courses which are provided outside the traditional framework of institutionally-based courses. More importantly, research undertaken in many places tells us that the considerable majority - over 70 per cent, on average - of deliberate learning tasks which adults embark upon are self-planned and undertaken without direct contact with educational institutions or professional advisors (Tough, 1978). It is with these thoughts in mind that I, for one, choose to talk about "recurrent education" in a wider context than that of studies undertaken within traditional institutional styles - although including these.

When using the term recurrent education, therefore, I include all kinds of policies and strategies - educational, financial, social and political - which represent evolutionary steps towards the realisation of lifelong learning. It must be conceded, I believe, that the adoption of lifelong learning as ". . . the master concept for educational policies . . .", in the sense of it being so proclaimed by a government, may offer encouragement but is unlikely to be particularly effective in producing change. Reports from Europe, where several Ministers of Education jointly declared, several years ago, that their countries' educational policies would, indeed, be based on the concept of lifelong education, suggest that such pronouncements have very little discernable effect on the practices of State educational systems. Schon's (1973) concept of "dynamic conservatism" - a tendency of social systems to fight to remain the same, by behaviour akin to that of homeostatic systems - is clearly at work. Change appears to have taken place more rapidly through incremental initiatives, sometimes in response to "consumer demand", sometimes through the establishment of new educational providers which have the capacity and the inclination to experiment with non-traditional programs or to alter their practices in order to widen access to existing programs.

A major example of the "consumer demand" response is the development, particularly in many European countries, of organised systems of paid educational leave. This trend has been described by Charnley (1975) and in various OECD documents such as OECD/CERI (1976), OECD (1977) and OECD/CERI

(1978). There are references to some more recent developments in several of the chapters of Schuller and Megarry (1979). Here we have a situation in which many countries now have legislation providing for various forms of paid educational leave as entitlements within the working conditions of employees. The history of this usually shows, however, a pattern of extended negotiations between trade union and employer organisations followed by legislation which tends to give legal effect to whatever has already been agreeed upon - i.e. changes in educational practices have come about through the industrial relations channels and Ministries of Labour rather than through policy formulation by Education Ministries.

On a much smaller scale and at a more local level one has the burgeoning, within Victoria, of autonomous continuing education centres in Victorian country towns - 25 at last count, with the number growing almost monthly. These invariably start as voluntary organisations which appear spontaneously and independently of one another (or of any central organisation) in response to a felt need for some kind of adult education service in the towns concerned. Once established they tend to relate to established institutions such as high school councils or the Council of Adult Education for organisational support and some funding. They are interesting, however, as examples of genuine responses to "consumer demand", in contrast to many of the new initiatives in adult education encouraged by the central policies of large existing instrumentalities - e.g. much of "Stream 6" in Technical and Further Education in Australia. Of course they are not the only examples of the process which one could cite. Much the same pattern is seen in the emergence of "neighbourhood learning centres" of various kinds in the suburbs of large cities; another response of the same kind, at least in principle, is the expansion of the programs of agencies such as the Victorian Council of Adult Education, where applications for enrolment in its activities regularly exceed their capacity by some thousands, each year.

FACTORS FAVOURING RECURRENT EDUCATION

Although, as sketched above, analyses of the roles and outcomes of traditional education systems are seen by many to point to recurrent education as a desirable alternative, one should ask whether there are, in fact, signs of a trend in that direction and whether there is reason to believe that these presage larger and permanent changes or whether they simply represent temporary "fashions" in education.

Firstly, there is no doubt that there are signs of a trend towards recurrent education in Australia. One of the most obvious of these is the increasing presence, on university and college campuses, of adult students who have not continued, without a break, from secondary to tertiary education. Of course there have always been adult, part-time students in universities; but in earlier generations these were usually people who had matriculated while at school and gone straight on, either directly to part time study or to full-time study for a while before continuing with part-time study. The new generation of adult students now includes many who left school before year 12 and have later returned to study, first to matriculate and then to seek entry to tertiary education. There is also a small number who are admitted, through various special-entry schemes, without matriculating via year 12 studies or their equivalent. At Monash University (which is now the most conservative of the four Victorian universities in its admission policies) 8 per cent of students who are pursuing full-time bachelor degrees are in the age range from 26 upwards. All of these must have had a break of some years away from formal studies before resuming them. Among part-time bachelor degree students, 58 per cent are in this age group and many of these, too, will have been alternating study with other pursuits for significant periods of their lives. Indeed the phenomenon of adult students within tertiary institutions has itself become a subject for study - two major conferences, at least, have been held around this theme in the last two years and we now know of a book on the subject, (Hore and West, 1980).

Feeding this growth of adults in tertiary education, but also serving a much wider range of purposes, there has been a considerable upswing in adult evening classes of all kinds. This may not be seen, by some, as recurrent education in the sense of alternation between periods of work and education (although a minority of such students will be getting some "time-off-in-lieu" from employers). It does, however, represent a trend towards the lifelong learning concept and so, in my terms, a growth area of recurrent education. Suburban newspapers, in Melbourne at any rate, now regularly carry an increasing number of advertisements for such classes, offered at Technical and Further Education (TAFE) colleges, secondary and technical schools (where they are usually supported by TAFE funds), Colleges of Advanced Education, Universities and a variety of community centres.

Another growth area, which is not so publicly obvious, is in training and development and in the field which intersects with it, continuing professional education. Direct mailing, rather than paid advertisements, is the main avenue for publicising this field - although press advertisements for (usually) expensive seminars, either conducted by allegedly prestigious visitors or (sometimes "and") accurately aimed at the hip-pocket nerves of potential registrants seem to be appearing rather more frequently in recent years than in the past. In addition to long-established organisations such as the Australian Administrative Staff College and the Australian Institute of Management a variety of new providers has emerged. Many personnel consultant companies have diversified into the training field, offering not only wide-ranging catalogues of manuals, films, role-playing exercises and other training aids but also seminars and short courses of their own. Major programs are now offered, in a variety of modes, by many universities and colleges, either by traditional faculties and departments, as fee-paying spin-offs from their undergraduate or postgraduate courses or by separate "Institutes" which are partly - or even fully - funded by earned income.

Continuing professional education is usually organised by the relevant professional associations. There is nothing intrinsically new in this; an obligation to maintain or increase one's level of professional competence has always been one of the hallmarks of a professional, universally accepted in theory and usually acted upon - often with success - in practice. Every professional body lists within its aims an item such as "maintaining the standards of the profession" and most have, from their inception, taken some action in support of this aim. In recent times, however, their levels of activity have been stepped up considerably, largely in response to two related phenomena - the acceleration of changes in society and the growth of consumer consciousness. Change is most obvious in those areas directly related to technological change, such as engineering; and the relevant educational response is, as one engineering colleague has put it, that we simply cannot continue to "sell a product without providing an adequate after-sales service". Other changes abound, however. Lawyers are required to grapple with new legal concepts (Prices Justification Tribunal and fault-free divorce are two examples) as well as with new legislation along familiar lines. Social workers need to cope with the outcomes of major new problems such as drug abuse and chronic unemployment. Little wonder, then, that professional bodies are expanding their continuing education programs.

At the same time, one of the products of our changing society is a better-educated society. The average age of leaving the formal, front-loading education system has increased considerably in a generation and the proportion of people in the community who have discovered how to get access to knowledge and to make use of it has correspondingly increased. Accordingly, professional advice and professional practices are not granted the same degree of reverence as previously. At the personal level, there is an increasing tendency to treat professional advice (e.g. the prescription of medical treatment) as just that - advice to be considered, along with other information, rather than as a course to be followed unquestioningly. At the public level we have a recent, quite spectacular example of the same thing - the Tasmanian government declining, for the first time ever, to follow a major recommendation of the Hydro-Electric Commission. In other arenas, the traditionally-assumed rights of professionals to monopolise tribunals which deal with their own professional matters, such as registrations or malpractice, are being seriously questioned. One form of defence against all this is to give more attention to maintenance of competence. If a profession is seen to be actively encouraging involvement of its members in updating and diversifying their knowledge and skills, drifts in public confidence might be arrested. For this reason, therefore, continuing professional education is high on the agendas of many professional bodies.

Continuing professional education and training and development activities share one feature. If they are at all extensive (i.e. going beyond a single lecture or short seminar) they are usually scheduled during ordinary working hours or in such a way as to impinge significantly on those hours - e.g. the afternoon-evening or Friday-Saturday workshop. Thus the participants either attend with the blessing of their employers, usually expressed in terms of leave to attend plus payment of fees or, if self-employed, at the expense of time spent in their practices. By any definition, therefore, these are forms of recurrent education; and they are showing strong growth.

Next, there are indications that the availability of paid educational leave, as a condition of employment, is on the increase. Such leave has existed for a long time in many sectors - for example, most public servants can apply for three to five hours of paid leave per week to take courses which are likely to enhance their job-effectiveness. In some industries, paid leave is available for union officials, such as shop stewards, to attend trade union education courses. Other examples could be cited and, although no survey of this field is readily available, there are indications that such conditions are gradually creeping into more occupational areas. As indicated above, provisions of this nature are far more advanced in some other industrialised countries and it is thus not surprising to find that the Australian Council of Trade Unions is actively involved in the issue. It should be noted that the International Labour Organisation (ILO), adopted a Convention and Recommendation concerning Paid Educational Leave (1974, pp. 225-228). A central part of the Recommendation is that

> "Each Member (of ILO) should formulate and apply a policy designed to promote, by methods appropriate to national conditions and practice and by stages as necessary, the granting of paid educational leave for the purposes of -
> (a) training at any level;
> (b) general, social and civic education;
> (c) trade union education."

Since some movement is being made along these lines one should expect it to continue.

In summary, therefore, there has been a significant trend towards recurrent education in Australia, particularly during the last five years, and many of the components of that trend are of such a nature that one would expect this to be a continuing phenomenon rather than a short-term perturbation. Among the factors which will strongly influence this conclusion are societal, economic and political developments in the country. For example, all the indicators suggest to me that the OECD view, that education policies will be much more strongly linked with manpower and employment policies than in the past, is probably a correct one. Among such indicators one would obviously list both the title and terms of reference of the recent Committee of Inquiry into Education and Training (the Williams Committee), as well as the activities of State coordinating bodies with respect to educational services which relate to (but are not exclusively concerned with) pre-service education of teachers.

Several of the earlier papers of this conference make points about future developments in Australia which are consistent with a trend towards recurrent education. For example, the turbulent future which Brian Abbey describes would best be served by such educational strategies. Again, Senator Puplick's scenario for the Year 2000 reflects much of the recurrent education position.

IMPLICATIONS FOR POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

If, indeed, we are entering a new era in recurrent education it is of some interest to attempt predictions of its impact on our post-secondary education system and its institutions. I speak in these terms because I believe that our educational institutions will be more likely in the future (as they have been in the past) to react to changes than to initiate them.

Firstly, there is the obvious impact from increasing numbers of mature adults in the student population and their differences, in learning styles and expectations, from students fresh from the school system. These have been described elsewhere (see e.g., McDonell, 1978, p. 42; 1979, p. 48). Research evidence on adult learning, which bears on this point, is briefly summarised by Knox (1979), thus:

> "Generalisations about adult learning abilities and dynamics are . . . useful for those who select supervise and evaluate instructional personnel and programmes. Effective practitioners typically understand that almost every adult is able to learn almost any subject, given sufficient time and attention . . . Adults seldom learn, remember and use answers for which they do not already have the question. Practitioners who understand this point seek to involve participants actively in objective settings to increase relevance, in selection and organisation of activities to fit preferred learning style, and in evaluation to increase responsiveness and use of increased proficiency . . . Adjustment to the social environment of the learning activity is very important to some adults . . . Practitioners who understand this seek to help create a setting for learning that helps participants achieve important and relevant educational objectives, and in addition encourages group support and sharing . . . ".

This is a far cry from the staff-student relationships, in matters of curriculum and teaching, with which most of us are familiar in post-secondary institutions. Whereas Knox's summary of research evidence indicates that the most effective role for the adult educator is that of focussing on the learners and their learning needs, most of our academic colleagues are concerned with teaching subjects. They have been brought up in an educational system which overwhelmingly accepts, as axiomatic, that the professional teacher should have ultimate control of a subject-centred curriculum and how it should be taught; it is not surprising that they, themselves, follow the same paradigm.

Recurrent education implies a growth in educational consumerism. Its development will require post-secondary institutions to respond to the needs of adults who alternate education with work and leisure by giving greater credit for experiential learning, particularly for informal learning at the workplace; by enabling people to enter programs at levels which suit them and which they perceive to suit them; by creating opportunities for students to be involved in the design of their own programs of studies, in the choice of appropriate tasks to be undertaken to demonstrate the capacities thus developed, and in the prior establishment of assessment criteria; by improving the resources available for part-time and external studies and by more flexible time-tabling - not only in the times of day at which classes are offered but also in such matters as the times of year at which studies can be commenced. This whole approach has been neatly summarised by Fowler (1974, p.124), thus:

> ". . .Education must be built upon the perceived needs of individuals and of social groups - perceived by them rather than by educationists."

Secondly, there would be pressure to diversify institutional offerings by one process or another. For example, the Faure Report proposes (UNESCO, 1972, p. 233):

> "There should be more diversified higher-education institutions. Universities should be turned into multi-purpose establishments open to adults and young people, and designed as much for continual training and periodic upgrading as for specialisation and scientific research."

Such diversification, if required, can be achieved either by restructuring (or expansion) within a single institution or by rationalisation between (or amalgamation of) diverse institutions. To follow either course would imply some reversal of the pattern of institutional organisation in Australia. Here we have been at pains to compartmentalise the various educational sectors - notably, at the post-secondary level. Sectorial exclusiveness has been fostered in a whole variety of ways. We have two Councils, for Universities and for Advanced Education, whose concerns relate to separate clusters of institutions. Co-ordination between these clusters is imposed at a higher administrative level again (the Tertiary Education Commission) rather than occurring at the operational level of day-to-day liaison between individual universities and colleges. The third Council, for Technical and Further Education, had its origins in concerns for particular kinds of educational provision, but its funding has also been channelled almost exclusively into a particular set of institutions which, in several areas, appear to behave as though they were in active competition with colleges, universities and various community agencies providing non-formal educational services. I am not claiming that this sectorial approach has not produced some gains for the community in terms of availability of educational resources. What I would assert, however, is that the emergence of recurrent education as the strategy on which those resources should be planned for the future would imply a necessary erosion of these sectorial boundaries.

It may be that this process has commenced. There has been, for example an interesting exchange of letters in the press as to whether or not the acceptance by the University of Tasmania of certain courses, from the dismembered College of Advanced Education, which differ in character from its traditional offerings and which do not lead to degree qualifications, represents a real change in the nature of that university. Some see it as nothing new - an example of a diversity of course arrangements which Australian universities have offered throughout their histories. Others, though, see the actual offerings of this nature as having been both infrequent and decreasing in number; hence the Tasmanian development has been heralded as a first significant move towards a "comprehensive university". One hears also of negotiations involving universities and colleges, in both the Wollongong and Newcastle areas. Of course there is little evidence that such moves have been initiated in response to the gradually emergent needs of new generations of students. Financial imperatives and declining student numbers (either through diminishing numbers of applicants or through manpower planning) have been the main motivating factors. Nevertheless the outcomes may, indeed, be new patterns of flexibility which will cater better for a recurrent education situation than the present compartmentalised arrangements.

A third scenario is a shift in responsibility for coordination and funding of the whole post-secondary educational enterprise from the Commonwealth level to State and even to local levels. In the short term, in Australia, it seems that political considerations are, in any case, exerting pressures in this direction. Co-ordinating bodies at State level have been created relatively recently and even in this short time have been flexing their muscles in no uncertain terms. Obviously this muscle-flexing is not an exercise one undertakes unless one is certain of having muscle to flex; therefore it is a fairly obvious inference that, despite the absence of any definitive policy statements, the exercise of authority at State level is being undertaken with consent from the Federal level, where the actual funding power still lies. For the next few years, then, the effective power in the land, in post-secondary education, may well stem from periodic meetings between the Tertiary Education Commission and the chairpersons of the State Co-ordinating bodies.

A possible consequence of this is a gradual increase in the responsiveness of local education systems to expressions of need arising from the community. Recurrent education necessarily implies a higher level of "consumer consciousness" in education. Let us not argue which causes which - that is a chicken-and-egg problem; the point is that consumer-oriented groups habitually make a point of finding out where real power lies and where, therefore, to exert pressure - and it is much easier to exert pressure of this kind at a State or local level than at the Commonwealth level. Hence we may well see successful moves to widen the memebrships of State Co-ordinating bodies to include "community representatives" - i.e. people who see themselves as representing the users of educational service. It may be a bit much to expect the Federal Government to widen the membership of the Tertiary Education Commission to include student representatives, given the present community image of a "student" as a young person who has come straight from secondary school, in the "front-loading" model. In a recurrent education situation, however, it is much more likely that a State Government could successfully be lobbied to add one or two adults, who can claim to have expertise and experience as participants in post-secondary education, to the panel of educational and administrative experts now assembled in its Post-Secondary Education Commission.

Within States there is already some movement towards regional control of educational decision-making. The recent Victorian Government Green Paper, for instance, proposes a greater devolution of responsibility than has been given since the Regional Directorates were set up several years ago. Within a recurrent education situation it would be reasonable to expect the emergence of regional educational councils whose task it would be to advise the State authority on the needs of the region. Such a region might, for example, contain a university, two or three colleges of advanced education and a corresponding number of TAFE colleges. Indeed we might even see the emergence of something like the "comprehensive university" advocated for the United Kingdom by Pedley. He suggests, as appropriate to that country, a collegiate arrangement:

> "I suggest, then, that the right course is to bring together all the institutions of higher and further education in each natural social area; and because I believe that the comprehensive university needs to be close to the people, . . . we should choose to have more medium-sized ones than fewer out-sized ones wherever a choice presents itself." (Pedley, 1977, p. 85).

The essential first step, Pedley believes, would be

> ". . . the setting up of a Governing Council containing representatives of staff, students, local industry (employers and employed), the teaching profession and, above all, speaking for the whole local community, the local education authority or authorities. None of these groups would be in an overall majority; all would have a significant voice." (Pedley, *ibid*., p. 87).

While this model could not be translated exactly into Australian terms the concept is entirely consistent with the widened involvement in educational policy-making suggested in preceding paragraphs as a likely impact, on our post-secondary system, of recurrent education.

Lastly I would like to discuss an additional effect, close to my own professional interests. It is fairly clear that the kind of flexibility required of institutions in a recurrent education climate would necessitate a considerable expansion in the non-formal, non-credit field generally referred to, at present, as "continuing education". It is clear that institutions will be called upon to increase greatly their capacities to respond to demands for extension services of all kinds. Already much of what is offered in this field is demand-induced: someone, either from within the institution or from outside it, perceives that the time is opportune to organise a special short course, a workshop or a conference on a particular topic, designed for a particular audience. Then a good deal of time can be spent (as it is in my Centre) in checking out the idea - consulting representatives of the prospective target audience, taking advice as to the speakers and format likely to be the most appropriate for that audience, and so on.

The question of whether or not such continuing education services should be free - as are all post-secondary educational services which are parts of degree and diploma courses - is a socio-political one which I am not going to address here; except to point out that the problem of deciding what fraction of all post-compulsory educational services is funded by the public purse becomes an increasingly important one as the trend towards recurrent education progresses. Let me discuss the present position, in which continuing education is not a free service. The pattern at Monash University is fairly typical; recurrent funds support a base operation - a small, central staff whose job is program-planning and the provision or organisational back-up. The direct costs of activities programmed are to be met by fee income or by grants attracted from outside sources. The largest single component of these direct costs consists of fees paid for academic input. Some of this money goes to people outside the university, engaged for their particular expertise, but the larger amount is paid for academic services rendered by staff members of the university. Often this is paid to the individuals concerned, as additional income, analagous to that which might be earned from private consulting. Sometimes individual lecturers give their services free, but with the fees that are provided for in the budget going to a departmental fund which gives flexibility outside recurrent funding. Whatever the method of reimbursement, though, it seems clear to me that this model for providing continuing education services is incapable of much expansion.

At present, academic staff members in post-secondary institutions are, almost without exception, appointed on the understanding that their full-time salaried occupations will be a particular mix of teaching, research and academic administration. It is quite unusual for any time-commitment to continuing education to be specified or implied in their contracts. Continuing education is thus, for the great majority, an overload activity; and it obviously cannot be substantially increased in scale on that basis. The best way of providing the resources to meet needs for expansion in continuing education seems, to me, to build it into the normal spectrum of responsibilities of teaching departments. This, however, implies a need for additional funding which can be applied to the hiring of some incremental staff (or, perhaps, to the retention of some existing staff!). Earned income from course fees is one obvious source; however, the market from which substantial fee income can be derived is rather limited and specialised. Many of the community groups which the post-secondary institutions should serve are not high-income professionals (or organisations willing to pay for staff members to attend) and can simply not afford fees of the magnitude needed to make continuing education activities entirely self-supporting. Therefore new funding initiatives are required if the institutions are not to concentrate, almost exclusively, on the more affluent professional markets.

The former Universities Commission repeatedly expressed a wish to encourage growth in continuing education through recurrent funding. I suggest that even now, as trends towards recurrent education are evident, this principle should be revived. I would prefer it to be applied in a new form, however. The view has already been expressed elsewhere (e.g. by the Directors of Centres for Adult and Continuing Education) that the direction, towards continuing education, of a certain percentage of recurrent funds, as suggested by the Universities

Commission, is not the most effective method of funding. A better model appears, to me, to be that of project funding, similar in principle to the funding of research through various granting committees.

A rationale for a project-funding model is provided by considering the nature of continuing education activities. Whatever forms they take, they tend to have the following characteristics.

- They are usually short in duration.
- They are designed to meet emergent needs and are often not repeated.
- They are designed and offered at much shorter notice than is the case for subjects or courses in the formal system.

Thus, continuing education is much more akin to a series of individual projects than it is to a recurrent course program. Accordingly, I would prefer a project-funding model, at least for new ventures, but with one significant difference from research project funding.

Pending more serious discussion of the basic issue of funding, referred to earlier, it would be simplest to maintain the present pattern, with mixed funding - partly by project-based grants from within the education system and partly by "earned income", whether from participants' fees or from special-purpose funding from, say, industries or foundations. My proposal is framed within the system I know best - the university system. Modifications of it, to meet the special requirements of other systems, will be fairly obvious.

Firstly, I would like the Universities Council to establish in addition to recurrent fund allocations, a "continuing education fund". A reasonable first target might be an amount equal to 0.3 per cent of all university recurrent funds in 1982, rising to 0.5 per cent in 1984. I should emphasise that I am talking about additional money, not money extracted from recurrent funds allocations.

It may seem quixotic, politically, to be talking about additional funds at this time. Well, so be it - I happen to believe that it is an appropriate time to talk about a new growth area in demand for educational services and how it ought to be financed.

I envisage individual universities applying to the UC for grants, from this fund, for new continuing education projects - i.e. projects additional to whatever continuing education programs they already support from their recurrent funds. This would mean that each university would have had to invite and then assess, by its own priorities, proposals for the establishment of such new projects. Proposals could come from departments or faculties, or from Centres like my own. They might, of course, be relatively unspecific as to actual activities, because of the time-lag between devising them and receiving granting approval from Canberra. So they would probably be of the nature of, for example, "a series of short courses in (a particular field), designed for (a particular audience)", supported by evidence of need, of the human resources needed, of costs, of planning strategies and so on. However, they could be described specifically enough to indicate how they should be evaluated; and I would regard that as an important component of any such proposal. The significant difference from research project funding, which was alluded to earlier, would lie in allowances made for matching income from fees and other sources. In the university situation, teaching is only part of the duties expected of an academic staff member. Research, research-related activities and academic administration are generally expected to occupy about half his or her time. If a university is to undertake additional commitments to continuing education without disadvantage to its other functions, it is therefore arguable that about half of the salary cost of staff engaged in this work should be met from institutional funds and the other half derived from fee income. Thus I would propose that, in the budgetary estimates accompanying applications for grants from the new fund suggested above, the total cost of academic staff time devoted to each project should be identified and approximately half this cost sought within the grant. Some proposals, designed for particular audiences, might be accompanied by arguments for departure from this 50/50 model. The general principle of mixed funding, however, seems to me to be tenable in the present climate and in the foreseeable future. Project-based funding, too, seem to me the right way of building in accountability - an important consideration when one is seeking financial support for activities whose rationale is an alleged response to educational need. I concede that project-based funding is not without problems associated with the machinery which is usually established to evaluate proposals and administer the distribution of funds. Bentley (1979) has recently described such difficulties in the field of adult education. However I remain confident that means can be found of alleviating these problems in this field, particularly if a modest beginning is made on a pilot-project scale, to try the scheme out and assess its usefulness - including in such assessment the cost of its administration.

In summary, therefore, I see a new era for recurrent education as having already begun and likely to flourish as an inevitable response to the educational needs of a changing society. It will be an era approached in a piecemeal fashion, not through tidy and all-embracing educational policies. The mutations assisting its evolution are more likely to occur in the economic, industrial relations and labour market fields than within the formal education system itself. This means that that system will experience discomfort as changes are urged upon it. Many of us within that system will, however, find these changes stimulating and rewarding, in terms of professional satisfaction. I hope that we can adequately convey this enthusiasm to our colleagues and persuade our institutions to accommodate to change and even, now and then, to take the lead in anticipating it.

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CHAPTER 2.5

THE NON-TRAINING ROLES OF POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE 'EIGHTIES

LEO H.T. WEST

INTRODUCTION

Post-secondary institutions exist to train their students - in vocational and in non vocational areas, through formal teaching and informal experiences, by practice and by example, and so on. They also exist for other reasons. Post secondary institutions produce as well as transmit knowledge and skills; they provide expertise to governments, commerce, and industry; they provide public information and informal public education; they provide criticisms of society and its directions; they also have important socio-economic roles.

These are what I mean when I use the term "the non-training roles" of post-secondary education. They are the forgotten elements in the contemporary debate about post-secondary education in the 'eighties - and they may be the most critical ones! The Williams Committee of Inquiry into Education and Training, the blue print for post-secondary education in Australia for the rest of this century, was not charged to report on these roles. Neither the terms of reference of that committee nor the Prime Minister's statement to the House of Representatives made mention of any roles that were not concerned with training. Despite this, the Williams Committee did address itself to the research role of post-secondary education and made passing reference to other roles in its quotes from the Murray Committee, the sixth report of the Australian Universities Commission and the (Partridge) Report on Post Secondary Education in Western Australia. (See Volume I, pp. 150-151).

In this paper, I intend to show that these roles are important; and to argue that as the 'eighties unfold these roles will be more important and to demonstrate that the ability of institutions to fulfil these roles is declining under current policies.

THE NON TRAINING ROLES OF AUSTRALIAN ACADEMICS AND POST SECONDARY INSTITUTIONS

It will be useful, first, to get a feel for the extent of involvement of academics in these non-training roles. How much time do Australian academics spend on these activities? In a survey of academic staffs by Dr. T. Bede of the Sample Survey Centre at The University of Sydney, for the Williams Inquiry, staff were asked to estimate the time spent in various activities. In Table 1, the responses by the staff in the university sector is shown. Even if we were to have some doubts about the validity of self reports, the relativities are likely to be accurate. University staff spend about thirty per cent of their working week on research, writing and public and community activities (my non-training roles).

I have in the introduction to this paper, mentioned four non-training roles - knowledge and skill production; provision of expert advice to government, commerce and industry; provision of public information and education; and as a source of social criticism. These roles are not really separable in that way. Doing research or development work involves "keeping up" in a particular area and that means reading widely in that area, writing as well as doing, meeting and discussing with other people in the area and so on. A by-product of these activities is the development of expertise. The ability of people to provide expert advice or criticism depends on their involvement in research and development. Australia benefits from the results of research and development conducted in Australia's universities and colleges. It also benefits from the

Table 1 Estimated time spent by University academic staff on various activities.*

Activity	Professors (n=168)	Assoc. Prof/ Reader (n=181)	Senior Lecturer (n=418)	Lecturer (n=352)
	Mean time in hours per week (standard deviation)			
Giving lectures	2.83 (2.21)	3.25 (2.16)	3.55 (3.06)	4.11 (3.46)
Tutorials and seminars	2.33 (2.38)	2.44 (2.43)	3.14 (2.97)	3.23 (2.77)
Laboratory classes, supervising field work, etc.	1.09 (2.34)	3.17 (3.77)	2.83 (4.26)	2.23 (3.60)
Out of class contact with individual students	2.90 (3.13)	3.22 (2.83)	2.69 (3.37)	4.07 (3.18)
Marking students work (including examinations)	2.43 (2.89)	3.08 (3.38)	3.77 (3.55)	4.87 (5.09)
Designing new courses, preparing lectures, tutorials, laboratory classes, teaching materials	5.08 (5.90)	5.31 (5.01)	7.24 (6.82)	8.62 (7.07)
Total teaching related activities	16.66	20.47	24.22	27.13
Administration	10.80 (8.57)	5.32 (5.80)	3.70 (4.93)	2.69 (3.57)
Committee work	5.03 (4.04)	2.86 (2.62)	2.06 (1.95)	1.55 (1.53)
Research and writing papers, books, etc.	10.57(10.39)	13.23(11.69)	10.82 (9.00)	11.53(10.58)
Public community activities relevant to professional work	2.52 (2.90)	1.85 (2.63)	2.16 (5.92)	1.50 (2.59)
Total of these categories**	45.58	43.73	42.96	44.40

*Data collected by Dr. T. Bede of Sample Survey Centre, University of Sydney for Williams Inquiry.

** The questionnaire contained an "other" category which is not included in this table.

process of that research and development. Expertise in Australia comes from the involvement of staff in research as much as, if not more than, the results of that research. It follows too, that a decline in research activity will ultimately lead to a decline in expertise.

The case for the need for research in Australia based on the value of the results has been well made by others, and I do not need to repeat that case here. (See for example the FAUSA document "The Research Crisis"). Indeed, I want to concentrate on roles related to the expertise of staff; expertise which is developed through their research involvement. It is worth noting, however, that Australia has got its research and development "on the cheap". Research grants in Australia do not include the salaries of the principal investigator(s), nor do they include institutional "handling costs". In the United States of America institutions charge flat rates of the order of 75 per cent handling charges on top of the basic costing for the project. Such practices would more than double the cost to the Government of research in Australia.

Expert witnesses role

As society has become increasingly complex, the task of government in this complex society has become increasingly difficult. No minister, or group of ministers could possess anything like the range of knowledge needed to make wise decisions in this situation. Governments need the input of experts. As argued above, it is not just the knowledge that these experts produce that is important. What is also required is the application of their knowledge to new situations, situations in which judgement based on extensive and up-to-date knowledge is needed. Even this is not sufficient. Experts tend to be narrow. The interaction of various experts is required for sound decision making in the complex issues that exist in modern society. Appropriately, governments commission such groups of experts to report to it for policy making. Many major decisions in our society are now guided by the findings of an expert Committee.

For example, during the 1979 calendar year, thirty-one permanent councils, commissions or committees reported to the Federal parliament (excluding bodies like Curriculum Development Centre, Australian Research Grants Committee, National Health and Medical Research Council, etc., which are part of the post-secondary education "industry"). The list included bodies like the Australian Broadcasting Commission, the National Women's Advisory Committee, the Prices Justifications Tribunal, the Poultry Research Advisory Council. Every one of these bodies had representatives from universities or colleges.

Parliamentary papers do not always show the affiliation of members of councils, commissions or committees, so that the only clue to whether a member comes from the post secondary sector is the title "Professor" or "Associate Professor". Even so, of the members of the 31 bodies noted, 19 per cent were known to be from post-secondary institutions (usually university, perhaps because of the lack of knowledge of affiliation). The true figure would be considerably higher.

In the same period, three special reports were presented (excluding the Williams Committee Report, which was directly concerned with post-secondary education). These reports concerned Whales and Whaling, Radiological Safety and Future Land Use, and Australia and the Third World. Of the total membership of twenty-two, seven were from universities.

We need to add to this level of activity, the many reports to State parliaments, the special advisors to the government ministers and the various advisory and research groups which all provide other formal avenues of expert input to Governments.

All this represents a substantial contribution by the staff of post-secondary institutions.

Public Education Role

Just as governments need input from experts to cope with the increasingly complex society, so do members of society. They need to assess issues too. Some major contemporary examples are nuclear power, genetic engineering, abortion and contraception, inflation and unemployment, and so on. Here again, experts from universities and colleges are involved in providing knowledge to the communities on such major issues - and on many minor ones as well (e.g. the "hydrogen" car). This involvement is obvious to all of us.

It is impossible to document the extent of such involvement in Australia, because it is so diverse in nature and in media output. Current affairs programmes on radio and television frequently feature academics from universities and colleges. To get some feel for the extent, using the daily newspapers, a content analyses of newspaper cuttings held by FAUSA about universities was conducted for the period January to June 1980. In that time over seventy university research studies were reported in the daily press in Australia (these were separate studies, many were reported in several times in different newspapers). In the same period there were twenty articles that could be classified as providing expert advice to the general public, or sectors of it. These included matters like the effects of the use of analgesics; the use of cemetidene as an ulcer cure and the influence of smoking on the cure rate; report on the results of a simulation model that examined the joint impact of spending, wages and unemployment; and forecasts of a range of country town problems in the future. There were a further fourteen articles that would be described as public interest (as opposed to information or education) - an article describing Pompeii and its society (prior to the Pompeii exhibition), a report on archeological findings by Australians in the Jordan Valley, reports of searches for the Tasmanian tiger and honey possums, and so on.

Social Critic Role

The expectation that universities and colleges will act as critics or the conscience of society is as old as the concept of a university. This is not a role that wins strong support for post-secondary education, indeed it is the one most-likely to be resented and attacked. None-the-less it is a role that remains important, as Wolff (1969) argued in the United States of America context

> ". . . a great many colleges and universities are much freer, much more conducive to serious questioning and open debate, much more committed to human values, than any other institution in the United States . . . It is in universities that opposition to the Vietnamese war started and flourished. There, if anywhere, new and deeper attacks on the evils of American society will be mounted. Here again, the opposition role of the university flows from its very nature as a centre of free inquiry. Against all the pressures from the larger society, colleges and universities in the United States have for half a century been in the van of progressive social reform and social criticism . . . so those of us who still sustain a concern for the partial amelioration of social evils must rely upon the actual institutions which offer us the most assistance. In America today, the university clearly heads that list" (pp.56-7).

An excellent discussion of this role in Australia is contained in Powell (1978).

The non training roles described above are individual rather than institutional contributions. It is individual academic staff who create new knowledge and skills; who are seconded to advise goverments; who are invited to inform the public on the media; who act as social and cultural critics. But these individuals act with institutional support and protection, and with institution pressures to so act. Research is an expected role of university staff, at least, and one that is encouraged in the colleges. Institutions allow time, provide equipment and support and actively encourage through promotion, the research activity. Involvement in government committees, public education, and so on, are also positive points in the promotional stakes. Yet it is more than mere promotion. The milieu of universities and colleges encourages these activities. Striving for excellence in contagious. An active research oriented, knowledge seeking department is a fine motivator. A good analogue is the way in which better competition in sport stretches athletes to their highest levels of performance. This is partly explained by the competition itself, but it is more than that. It is an atmosphere in which excellence is revered and this atmosphere motivates.

We do not need evidence of this. It is as obvious in college and university departments as it is in football clubs. This sport analogy is also useful in another aspect. Excellence in academe, like excellence in sport relies heavily on a continuing infusion of "new blood".

Socio economic roles

Post-secondary education has always been perceived as a major avenue for social mobility and egalitarianism. For example, in the establishment of The University of Sydney such egalitarian ideals were strongly expressed (see Anderson, Boven, Fensham & Powell, 1978). Data on the social composition of the entrants to post-secondary education have never been systematically collected in Australia, so it is not easy to judge the success of post-secondary education in this goal.

Through the 1960s and 70s there has been an increasing interest in such studies. Anderson et al. (ibid.) compared the social composition of The University of Melbourne in 1955-56 and 1965. They showed a decrease in the proportion of students from upper professional backgrounds, a corresponding increase in students from middle-class white collar backgrounds, and no change in the proportion of students from manual working-class backgrounds. Slamowicz, Smurthwaite and West (1976) provided similar data on the Monash University intake from 1970 to 1975 which showed continued under-representation by students from manual-working class backgrounds. The abolition of fees by the Labour Government was intended to open up access from such groups and so further extend the role of post-secondary education as an avenue of egalitarianism in society. The Anderson et al. (op.cit.) study which surveyed universities and colleges indicated that fee abolition has not yet had a major impact on working class access. That finding, coupled with the present employment situation for graduates and the cut-backs in education make me pessimistic about the importance of this role in the 'eighties.

There is another socio-economic area, however where post-secondary education may have a very important role in the 1980s. High levels of unemployment appear now to be a continuing phenomenon in Australia. The majority of that unemployment is carried by the younger age groups. Apart from the unfairness of this, the likely social consequences are very serious. This is already widely recognised and various attempts have been made to reduce youth unemployment (including the use of post-secondary education). On the other hand there is a major group in the community wishing to leave employment to undertake further education (the so-called "mature age students"). The extent of this involvement and the reasons for it are only just being understood (see Hore & West, 1980), but the movement is a very significant one. Here is a good opportunity to share the available employment among different age groups. If older people, wishing to undertake full time study in post-secondary institutions are supported, their jobs will be available to distribute to younger people in the society. This suggestion is only one of a number of possibilities. In the 1980s, post-secondary education has the potential to significantly reduce (in a meaningful way) the level of youth unemployment, and so reduce the very serious social problems that will surely result from long term high levels of such unemployment.

In summary, society derives much benefit from the college and university staff through a range of activities that I have called their non-training roles, and that this contribution is a function of factors such as institutional support and encouragement, active high-morale departments and staff (motivated by promotion, regular "competition" with other academics and new staff, and the expansion of the mature age student enrolment.

The need for these roles has increased rather than decreased in recent years and the future need will further increase as society becomes more complex and as the problems that need solving increase. This will be particularly so, if Australia in the 'eighties moves toward what Hore called the "technocratic optimists" society. Tennison (1977) explored the social structure of such a future society:

> "By the start of the 21st century a new type of class division will be quite visible. It will comprise , on one hand, an educated, active power group which accepts responsibility for major decisions and sees they are carried out, and, on the other, a less educated, less active and less thoughtfully motivated group who will opt simply to 'enjoy' life without pressure of too much responsibility on broader issues.
>
> Within the ranks of the decision-making group will be representatives of management and worker organisations, academics, scientists, lawyers, philosophers. In the republic that Australia will have become - ties with the British monarchy will be warm, but no longer legal - the politicians will heed the advice of this group.
>
> It will not oppress the other group at all, but, instead, see that it is well supplied with the things its members decide they most want: work, adequate money, shelter, food, education, with reasonable opportunity as basics. Provided as well, on a generous scale, will be the desired number of mental distractions: sport, popular music, controlled gambling schemes and television.
>
> Everyone will have completely free choice of the group with which he or she chooses to link up. Equally, citizens will be free to move from one group to the other should they agree to accept the responsibilities of a decision-maker on one hand, or if, on the other, they prefer to leave all that for the easier life style of straight-forward work plus amiable distractions" (pp.2-3).

This dramatises the increasing need for the roles that I have been describing. Apart from the obvious greater need for expertise, for such a society to survive, it will be imperative to maintain independent, questioning, critical individuals. As control in our society becomes concentrated in fewer hands; as we move towards a benevolent technocratic dictatorship, the need for social watchdogs increases. This traditional role of academics will be of greater importance in the future than it has been in the past.

POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA IN THE 'EIGHTIES - A CRISIS IN STAFFING

The Colleges of Advanced education (CAEs) and the universities face what is euphemistically called a "steady state" through the 1980s. For the moment their enrolments (and so their funding) is fixed at 1977 and 1976 levels respectively, so that even if they could find new clients they could not use them to obtain any further growth. This is an important point to recognise. Post-secondary education is no longer enrolment driven. Growth (positive or negative) in the post-secondary system is now controlled by political and economic matters. This is clear in the Williams Report. There are four basic projections of student numbers to the year 2001 - and which one is adopted will be a matter of government policy. In their report, the committee (Williams, 1979) suggested that

> "Projection 2 fits the proclaimed objectives of Government rather better than projection 1" (Volume 1, p.78).

but left a clear "let-out clause" for the adoption of projection 4

> "At present these (projection 4) do not seem to be very realistic assumptions ... and the Government's stated objectives ... implies this projection should not be set as a possible objective. In the context of GDP it might however be considered as a possible outcome".
> (Volume 1, p.64, emphasis added.)

In the immediate post-Williams Report days I predicted that projection 1 would be used for the period up to the mid 'eighties with a transition in that period to projection 2 (West, 1979). I think now that such an expectation is optimistic. Given the present state of the economy, and the Government's own predictions about the future of the economy, it seems more likely that projection 1 will be the best we can hope for, with projection 4 appearing increasingly possible. These two projections are reproduced here in Tables 2 and 3.

Table 2. Williams Report Projection 1 for Universities and CAE student and staff numbers ('000)

	University		CAE	
	Students	Staff	Students	Staff
1977	158.4	11.5	140.3	9.2
1981	162.8	12.1	155.1	10.3
1986	164.4	12.2	159.4	10.5
1991	164.9	12.2	160.2	10.5
1996	165.0	12.2	160.4	10.5
2001	165.0	12.2	160.4	10.5

(From Williams Report, Volume 2, p.53. Note that in Volume 2, what is called projection 1 in Volume 1 is called projection A3).

Table 3. Williams Report Projection 4 for Universities and CAE student and staff numbers ('000)

	University		CAE	
	Students	Staff	Students	Staff
1977	158.4	11.5	140.3	9.2
1981	162.8	12.1	155.1	10.3
1986	158.8	11.7	155.3	10.1
1991	160.1	11.8	157.0	10.3
1996	148.2	10.8	147.8	9.5
2001	145.8	10.6	147.2	9.4

(From Williams Report, Volume 2, p.54)

Thus the current financial crises being faced by Universities and CAEs are very likely to continue throughout the rest of this century.

This situation is compounded by the age and rank distribution of current academic staff in Australia and the staffing policies being adopted by institutions as they attempt to cut their costs. An estimate of the age distribution of university staffs is shown in Table 4. The data used was collected by Dr T. Bede of the Sample Survey Centre at The University of Sydney for the Williams Committee.

The age distributions are heavily skewed towards lower ages. In the five years from the collection of this data, only 4.2 percent of the then University staff, lecturer and above will reach retirement age. By 1987 the percentages will be 11.4. Thus there is little prospect of significant throughput in either system.

The situation is further compounded by the age-rank, structure. The staff in the upper ranks are relatively young and tend to be on the top level of their rank (for example, in the universities, 51.0 percent of senior lecturers were at the top of the scale in April 1977).

Taken together, the lack of any likely growth in the number of university and the age rank distribution point to an era of little or no promotion for academic staff throughout the 1980s.

Myers (1979) attempted some quantitative estimates of the joint impact of these factors for the university system. If one assumes that in the 1980s the turnover of university staff will be 50 percent of the 1974 rate (a very reasonable assumption given the decline in jobs available both within and outside the university system), and that the ratio of promotions to new appointments will remain unchanged, the promotion rate from lecturer to senior lecturer and senior lecturer to reader is reduced by 60 percent. So too is the rate of recruitment to the lecturer level.

This forecast (and the forecasts in the CAE system would be similar) if it occured would be serious enough if it was the extent of the problem. However universities and CAEs have reacted in two ways to the financial pressures placed on them. There has been a tendency not to replace any academic who leaves or to do so at a lower (usually the lowest) level.

This reversion of positions policy, which at least provides some new positions at the bottom, has a stultifying effect on movement between institutions.

Secondly, many universities and colleges are making many or most of their new appointments as fixed-term appointments. It should be emphasised that this does not mean non-tenured as that term might be understood in a non-university or non-college context. It does not mean that provided there is a continuing need for the position and that the employee performs well, that the job will continue, but that there is no promise of life-time employment. It means that the person has the job for n years (where n is usually 3) only; that (s)he will not be re-appointed beyond that time irrespective of performance, nor indeed the need for the position. Often we find a fixed-term lecturer being replaced by another fixed-term lecturer (usually at the bottom of the scale). The nearest model of this system in the business world is the practice (used by some large department stores and fast food chains) of appointing young girls on low wages for a short term - and then sacking them when they turn 17 and replacing them with younger girls.

These two features need to be added to the Myers model for it to correctly represent academic staff in the 1980s. Work in this direction is occuring (Spaull, Johnson, Lake and West, 1980), but no quantitative predictions have been attempted as yet. Even so, it is clear, that the forecasts of the Myer model will overestimate promotion rates, for example compared to the expanded model. In a qualitative sense, the predictions, contained in the following extract from their Working Party Report, of Spaull et al. are probably close to reality.

> "2.12 Later in the report, the Working Party describes a flow model of the academic staffing system which we propose could be used to estimate the impact of various staffing practices. For the moment, however, it presents (Figure 2.2) a reduced version of that model. While it acknowledges that Figure 2.2 (over) represents an extreme picture (although under Williams' projection 4 and an extension of the Universities' present reaction it would become reality), the Working Party submits that it emphasises the serious consequences of the way things are going. As it is presented these will be:
>
> (a) little promotion for tenured staff in the system
>
> (b) no opportunity for movement of staff between universities with or without promotion
>
> (c) little avenue for entry of new people into the system.
>
> 2.13 The consequence of this is an ageing group of virtually the same people in the same positions with little prospect of promotion, and a whole generation of bright young people denied entry on a career basis into the group" (p.15).

The prognosis for the CAEs would be the same. For both sectors the 1980s will bring a crisis in academic staffing. The impact of this crisis will be greatest on the non-training roles of academics in both systems.

THE IMPACT OF THE STAFFING CRISES ON THE NON-TRAINING ROLES

It is not difficult to predict the impact of such consequences on the inclination and the ability of college and university staff to provide for the expanding need in the community for knowledge generation, expert advice and constructive criticism. The academic disciplines will decline. The absence of promotion, of sideways movement, of new "young turks" with their bright new ideas and challenges, will destroy the milieu, the atmosphere, the competion, the contagious search for excellence. Morale and excellence are not conserved quantities. A reduction in morale of say 10 per cent will not result in a 10 per cent reduction in output. It could wipe it out. The desirable state for high commitment and excellence is very fragile.

Another brain drain is likely, indeed two brain drains. The very best people

Table 4. Age distribution (percentage) of lecturers and above in Australian Universities (age at December 1976)

	65+	60-65	55-59	50-54	48-49	40-44	35-39	30-34	25-29	20-24	N
Science Engineering Technology, etc.	0.4	2.9	9.5	13.1	16.6	18.3	19.6	16.8	2.7	0.0	583
Arts, Economics, Education, Law, etc.	1.0	4.1	5.1	11.2	12.0	15.0	20.7	23.3	7.5	0.0	636
Medicine, Dentistry, etc.	0.7	2.2	11.2	13.4	12.7	18.7	26.1	11.9	2.2	0.7	164
TOTAL	0.7	3.5	7.2	12.1	14.3	16.6	20.1	20.1	5.3	0.1	1393*

(Data extracted from the survey conducted by the Sample Survey Centre, University of Sydney for the Williams Inquiry).

*Field of teaching unknown for 10 respondents.

in colleges and universities will be able to obtain positions overseas. The bright young potential academics will not have a chance to enter colleges and universities.

What will remain will be fossilising academics and departments, growing older and more conservative together; declining in morale; having no incentive to innovate (indeed, having disincentives to do so); being forced, both overtly and covertly, to concentrate their attentions inwards to their primary role (i.e. training). Such a scenario may be desirable for some of our political leaders and their short term aims, but the likelihood of an already dependent Australian becoming increasingly dependent on outside expertise and advice is a frightening future prospect.

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CHAPTER 2.6

COMMENTARY ON SECTION 2 PAPERS

FUTURE ROLES FOR TERTIARY EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA

PETER R. CHIPPENDALE

INTRODUCTION

The issue of future roles for tertiary education in Australia evoked some firm if diverse responses which were derived from varying conceptions of educational "role". These ranged from a rather widely conceived view of "role" as closely related to, if not synonymous with, the broad purposes and objectives of Australian post-secondary education, to some more narrowly, but no less validly, conceived views of "role" as it impinges on such matters as institutional evaluation, the liberalisation of the education process, and the notion of access to tertiary studies as an inviolate and immutable right of the individual. Thus some broad or more general, and some narrow or more specific, roles for Australian tertiary education emerged. Related to these roles some particular problems were perceived, and debate fastened especially on manpower planning in tertiary education, the rigidity of the tertiary education system, the reform of accreditation procedures, inter-institutional dialogue and inter-sectorial barriers, politics and tertiary education, and the liberalisation of the education process[1].

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[1] Three conference groups considered "Future Roles". They were led by J. Harden of Queensland Agricultural College, K. Imison and A. Skertchly of the Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education. A view expressed by a particular group is identified by reference to (Harden), (Imison) or (Skertchly).

THE ROLES MORE BROADLY CONCEIVED

Those who adopted the broader conception of "role" stated the major roles for Australian tertiary education as follows:

> "To help people seek, gain and retain employment.
> This is a role perceived for the total tertiary education system composed of universities, colleges of advanced education and colleges of technical and further education.
>
> "To help people develop as individuals.
> This role will be fulfilled by appropriate course structures at all institutions providing tertiary educational experiences in Australia by way of the formal course structure. The components of a liberal education will in fact permeate even the most technologically oriented courses so that instead of a 'band-aid' operation involving the addition of specific liberal art subjects, the actual course structure will have a liberalising effect.
>
> "To provide advice to or advise the community.
> It is considered that the diverse and extensive expertise available by way of staff and facilities in institutions involved with tertiary education should be made available in the widest possible way for use by the community.
>
> "To pursue knowledge for its own sake.
> It is maintained that who carries out research and at what level and in what institution is quite irrelevant. Research should be carried out simply by staff in institutions involved in tertiary education" (Harden).

THE ROLES MORE NARROWLY CONCEIVED

Among those who saw "role" in less broad terms was a school of thought which focused on what it regarded as two major if diverse concerns: (a) institutional evaluation, and (b) the liberalisation of the educational process.

The evaluation and subsequent modification of existing institutional structures, it was asserted, is fundamental to any attempt on the part of Australian tertiary institutions to fulfil their essential role of meeting the new and unique educational demands of a sharply changed and changing social order. Australian tertiary educational growth, it was maintained, has been largely a process of replication of the longstanding models of the past, the cases of Murdoch, Deakin and Griffith Universities notwithstanding; there is a need to break out of institutional stereotypes and initiate new and hybrid institutional forms congruent with the educational needs and expectations of the students of a post-industrial society.

This process of institutional evaluation should be vitally concerned with an examination of what work/life requirements really are, and consequently, with designing curricula and learning activities appropriate to these requirements. In this context facilities are urgently required for the study of ways to incorporate in tertiary teaching an understanding of the impact and influence of technological change on the lives and the education of the Australian population. And this is especially so after the failure of the Myer's Committee[2] to address itself adequately to these issues.

The second and rather different focus of those who held to the view of institutional evaluation as a major role for Australian tertiary education was the liberalisation of the education process. Liberal education in the traditional meaning of that term, as an education in the essentially "useless but distinctly human" arts, was seen as the proper foundation of all education and the essential core of all tertiary studies.

Thus, it was resolved, the major roles for Australian tertiary education should be articulated as follows:

> "All post-secondary educational institutions should act so as to appraise and evaluate their activities with a view to formulating soundly based plans for their futures.
>
> > This resolution embraced the notion of the desirability of all colleges and universities being required to undertake a detailed organisational appraisal and evaluation.
>
> "The nation as a whole should move towards endorsing and implementing the liberalisation of education at all levels.
>
> > This resolution seeks to foster the widespread adoption in all educational institutions of the educational philosophy outlined in Professor Max Charlesworth's paper" (Chapter 2.3).

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[2] Technological Change in Australia; Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Technological Change in Australia, 1980, (Chairman, R.H. Myers), 4 vols. A.G.P.S., Canberra, 1980.

And, the argument continued:

> "It is considered that the three post-secondary tertiary sectors should use these statements, inter alia, partly to support their public case for stating their rejection of the inevitability of contraction of public funding of any of the sectors. The public case against contraction should be argued by a widespread approach to the voters, as well as by presentation of well researched arguments to the politicians. We should be prepared, in doing this, to question the political assumptions on which the political decisions to cut public funding of some of the post-secondary sectors are based" (Skertchly).

Another school of thought, which also adopted the more narrow meaning of "role", directed attention to the overriding importance of the notion of access to tertiary education as the right of each individual, and stressed the implications of this view for educational planning, especially in its application to the problems of transfer of credit and the formulation of strategies for lifelong and distance education. Thus it was resolved that:

> "As a basis for planning the resources for tertiary education, the proposition, that access to some form of tertiary education is an individual right should override the view that the tertiary system is primarily to meet needs for trained manpower.
>
> "Consistent with this, the recurrent education strategy for design of courses, together with greater freedom for transfer of credits should underpin this right of access.
>
> "The planning of resources should be based upon a concept of tertiary education which recognises that education is a lifelong process and is not solely related to credentialism.
>
> "Distance education should be recognised as a particularly important, necessary strategy in the provision of lifelong education" (Imison).

MANPOWER PLANNING AND TERTIARY EDUCATION

From what were perceived as major roles for Australian tertiary education the debate moved to some particular problems within this context, and paramount among these was the issue of the validity of manpower planning and its application to the attainment of any roles which might be projected for the tertiary system. On this question, one school of thought contended,

"... that there is a need to question the belief that a vocational course produces a graduate who is only employable in a particular vocational position. There seems to be an implicit assumption that particular courses produce particular pegs for specific round holes and that these products do not fit other forms of employment. Perhaps it is not only politicians who see vocational courses in this way; perhaps we too are guilty of this in our thinking, in our course designs, in our teaching and in the expectations we either consciously or unconsciously impart to students.

"Manpower planning assumes or appears to assume that there is a precise correlation between the course studied and success in a given work task. This needs to be questioned because it does not appear to be supported by data.

"Manpower planning depends upon precise information being provided by employers. But this does not appear to be done in all areas, perhaps because most employers would themselves hesitate to accept the consequences of their predictions. In those areas where it is done, such as teacher education, it has not been successful.

"The above points are but some of the problems with manpower planning and these problems have led us to believe that manpower planning is an imprecise process which at the best can provide some data for the 'broad-steer' approach to planning. We consider that there are a number of alternatives that should be used. These are:

(a) the 'broad-steer' approach accompanied by course changes which would maximise flexibility so that students can move from a particular area if the trends indicate that that area of study is not likely to lead to employment.

(b) the data related to manpower needs should be used as a 'broad-steer' basis for self-regulation by institutions. To illustrate the point in a parochial way, in teacher education in Queensland we have been cutting back since 1976; this year a dramatic cut was again made, related supposedly to demographic trends, but in actual fact related to a treasury decision to place a ceiling on the amount of money they intended to spend on teacher salaries. The problem is that we are now faced with a situation that as from 1981 in our programme and in other programmes in Queensland our quotas will continue to increase until, by 1988, we will be back almost to the level we were at in 1976. Now this is a stop/go approach which makes it difficult to plan, and which has serious implications for staffing and for resources. We believe that manpower trends can be used by the colleges to set the quotas which they see as appropriate and which enable some stability to be achieved in planning. These quotas will need to be acceptable to the co-ordinating authorities, but this can be achieved through round-table conference of the parties involved. So self-regulation by the institutions is an alternative to the rather disastrous situation we have" (Imison).

Another view rejected the validity of manpower planning and its application to tertiary education in these terms:

> "Manpower planning supposes a controlled match between supply and demand; it is also related in the tertiary sector to the concept of vocationally specific educational programmes. For these reasons, it is not practical in the present Australian context.
>
> "On the other hand, there is not necessarily anything wrong with a situation in which an oversupply of graduates is produced at any given time, which would result from a market force, supply and demand model. The problem with this approach, at the present time, is the expectation of individual graduates that they will be, or have the right to be, employed in the specific vocation for which they have been trained. This has been reinforced by the situation which existed during the post-war boom period, as well as by the current nature of many vocationally oriented post-secondary programmes, which are namely, 'vocationally-specific', or are at least perceived as such by the public. The recommended alternatives are more broadly based and liberally conceived and conducted educational programmes.
>
> "Provided it can be demonstrated that there is in fact considerable 'substitutability' of qualifications as suitable educational bases for specific occupations, and there is opportunity for progressive inter-sectorial movement of students, the problem of response time in relation to market changes can be minimised.
>
> "However, this requires that more freedom be given to the CAE and TAFE sectors in the area of initiating and sustaining newer, redirected programmes. In addition, there needs to be a more responsible and open approach to transfer of credit between institutions and programmes, including credit for non-formal learning.
>
> "In the ultimate, these changes might well be best facilitated by structural changes in the direction of a state or federal college/university system, which may also provide an umbrella for a community college system" (Skertchly).

RIGIDITY OF THE SYSTEM & REFORM OF ACCREDITATION PROCEDURES

It was widely if not universally held that the ability of Australian tertiary institutions to assume new roles which might be compatible with future educational demands is severely inhibited by a fundamental rigidity in Australian educational thinking, not only within the individual institutions, but also, in the wider context, in the system at large. This rigidity of outlook, it was argued, essentially impedes the ability of the institutions to formulate those policies on entry requirements, course structures, and the transferability of credits which are consistent with the contemporary or changing educational aspirations of the Australian community (Harden, Imison, Skertchly).

This rigidity of outlook, it was asserted, exhibits itself at all levels. It can be seen, for example, in the commonly inflexible attitudes adopted towards the transferability of credits between one school and another within the same institution, between one institution and another within the same sector, and between one institution and another in a different sector (Imison). Or, as another statement of the matter put it:

> "There is an urgent need for each sector of tertiary education to recognise the contributions made by other sectors, and also the contributions made by employment in relation to credit at tertiary institutions. In the present situation, the student encounters difficulties in receiving credit for work carried out in another institution, even those in the same sector, and this must be changed. Flexibility in the recognition of the levels of achievement of potential students must be achieved if we are to maximise utilisation of tertiary educational institutions, and encourage the adult students, in particular, to further their educational experience" (Harden).

One suggestion, with a view to alleviating the currently unsatisfactory Australian situation, was that the Tertiary Education Commission be requested to examine the credit system in the United States of America and other countries with a view to developing in Australia a system of flexibility of student movement between institutions and sectors (Imison).

The prevailing rigidity of the system, it was further argued, is substantially reinforced by the inflexible stances adopted by extra-institutional authorities, and especially accrediting authorities, on the matter of entry requirements (Imison). It was consequently and generally agreed that time is ripe for the reform of accrediation procedures as a major means to modifying the rigidity of the system in general, and of the CAE sector in particular. As one statement put it:

> "Existing accreditation procedures are inhibiting educational performance. Particularly is this so in the college sector. Authority to alter, delete, create new courses and educational (and other) offerings should be given to

> the professional educationists concerned with their implementation. No other course of action can cope adequately with ongoing changes. At the very least, a move to "college" rather than "course" accreditation is absolutely necessary" (Skertchly).

Furthermore, it was argued, the many links in the existing approval chain constitute an insurmountable obstacle to the ability of the colleges to respond with any degree of rapidity to local and regional needs; consequently, along with the reform of accreditation procedures, there is a pressing requirement to devise new systems for the management of tertiary education, from the Commonwealth through to the State and ultimately to the regional levels (Harden).

INTER-INSTITUTIONAL DIALOGUE AND INTER-SECTORIAL BARRIERS

A need for much increased dialogue between the staffs of institutions belonging to different sectors of Australian tertiary education emerged as a persistent theme of discussion (Harden, Imison, Skertchly). A particular emphasis was placed upon the word "staffs" since, it was asserted, the dialogue, where it presently occurs, is more often than not at the senior administrative level, and it stays precisely at that level, with no flow, within the various institutions, of the information gleaned from such discussions. There is, therefore, a significant need for the kind of dialogue which characterised the conference on "The New Era for Tertiary Education" (Imison). Another examination of the problem stressed the need to find some mechanism to promote joint effort in the regional management of Australian tertiary education, and the formation of informal regional co-ordinating committees was advanced as a possible solution (Harden).

A more radical view maintained that the current pattern of organisation of Australian tertiary education merely perpetuates a pattern inherited from another age that promotes sectional barriers and inter-sectorial conflicts. It is not only the areas of difference between the sectors which ought be appreciated, but also the areas of commonality. In this context, there is a need to look at resources available across the sectors, and to facilitate the movement of staff and students between them. Indeed, "institutionalised swopping" ought to be promoted, and the concept of a national human resources bank, as a means to enable people to move in the tertiary system, in accordance with individual and national needs and capabilities, should be seriously examined. People attached to such a bank might be salaried by the state, but need not be members of any particular institution (Skertchly).

POLITICS AND TERTIARY EDUCATION

Views on the proper relationship between politics and education revealed a considerable diversity of opinion. On the one side it was held that all sectors of Australian tertiary education must play a much more active role in attempting to influence political decision-making. The people in tertiary education have been rather too reticent in playing the political game; all available avenues of political influence, including the lobby, should be utilised (Imison). On another side, it was asserted that the people engaged in tertiary education might secure greater political influence if they were to first set their own houses in order. Thus, the tertiary education authorities should "institutionalise" mandatory institutional appraisal and evaluation, and the institutions themselves should clearly articulate their aims and activities to the public and politicians alike (Skertchly). And a third position maintained that tertiary education is not to be aligned with any form of party politics, save that education at all levels is held to be a commodity, provided by the state, freely available to all (Harden).

LIBERAL EDUCATION

There were two major and fundamentally divergent schools of thought on the meaning of liberal education. One school stood for the traditional and historical meaning, ably expounded by Max Charlesworth, as the study of the essentially useless but distinctly human arts. Furthermore, according to this school of thought, educational decision-makers should be urged to adopt liberal education as the core of all tertiary studies; and, it was further asserted, funds should be made available in particular to colleges of advanced education to conduct the liberal education envisaged by their original charter from the Commonwealth (Skertchly).

Others saw a liberal education as a reflection of the way in which courses are taught, rather than as a necessary outcome of particular studies designated to be specifically liberal in character. And, it was pointed out, in the ultimate, if the education of tertiary students is to be a liberal one in the terms laid down by Professor Charlesworth, the kind of graduate which tertiary institutions aim to produce must be seen as "the well educated man" who has additional skills to fit him for employment, rather than the vocationally qualified person who has received some element of a liberal or general education as an aspect of his tertiary studies (Imison).

CONCLUSION

Considerations of future roles for Australian post-secondary education thus reinforced many of the conclusions derived from the examination of the future purposes of tertiary education in its Australian setting (Section 1) and in particular underlined the importance of the following issues for those engaged in the education decision-making process.

- The need to reach consensus on a statement of the major roles of Australian tertiary education in the context of a more properly and more closely integrated post-secondary system.
- The fundamental importance of the evaluation and modification of prevailing institutional structures in any attempt by tertiary institutions to

meet the new and unique educational demands of an emergent post-industrial society.

- The need to liberalise the educational process, and the desirability of reaching some greater measure of consensus on the meaning of a liberal education.
- The need to rethink priorities in Australian tertiary education: an overriding importance ought be attached to the rights and needs of the individual - and especially the mature-age student - in access to tertiary studies; and less importance ought attach to the notion that the fundamental purpose of post-secondary education is to meet current or projected requirements for trained manpower.
- The need to take cognisance of a widely held view within the Australian tertiary education system that the application of manpower planning techniques to the tertiary education process is not a valid procedure for either the planners or the educators; and that the more valid approach to educational planning is the 'broad steer' which has less regressive implications for the flexibility of the post-secondary system.
- The need to revise a prevailing view that the almost exclusive role of post-secondary education is to train students for specific vocations, and that the production of an over-supply of graduates at any particular point in time is obviously misdirected and inherently disastrous for society and for the individual.
- The widespread dissatisfaction of many engaged in Australian tertiary education with the rigidity of its existing pattern of organisation, which promotes inflexible and anachronistic inter-institutional and inter-sectorial barriers, and the highly negative implications of this for the educational aspirations of the Australian community, and especially for the mature-age

student, in such matters as the transferability of credits and the recognition of educational experiences gained in the work-place.

- The pressing need for reform of current accreditation procedures, especially as these relate to the advanced education sector, which severely retard adequate institutional responses to local and regional educational demands, and the consequent necessity to move, at the very least, from "course" to "college" accreditation.
- The need to promote increased dialogue between staffs of institutions in the different sectors of Australian tertiary education, and consequently the need for further conferences like that on "The New Era for Tertiary Education", which brought together a wide cross-section of teachers and administrators from all sectors and enhanced both informed debate and future co-operation in what is in fact a common educational enterprise.
- The need for both academics and administrators in post-secondary education to reach some form of working consensus on the relationship of tertiary education to Australian political institutions.
- The need to reach some form of workable consensus on the ultimate end of tertiary education in Australia - "The well educated man" who has some additional skills to fit him for employment, or the vocationally qualified person who has received some element of a liberal or general education as an aspect of his tertiary studies.

SECTION 3

THE PATTERN AND ACCOUNTABILITY OF THE NEW ERA

CHAPTER 3.1

THE PREVAILING PATTERN OF POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA: ANACHRONISM OF THE 'SEVENTIES OR PRESCRIPTION FOR THE 'EIGHTIES?

LINDSAY J. BARKER

INTRODUCTION

There is little doubt that fundamental changes in the prevailing pattern of post-secondary education in Australia will be necessary if the service is to meet the individual and national needs in the 'eighties. During the expansion of the 'sixties and 'seventies, the imbalances in educational opportunity were to some extent corrected, and our higher education services at least made some attempt to meet emergent national needs.

With expansion came co-ordination. As usual, a variety of approaches was employed by the states, and the Commonwealth, which assumed a major involvement in higher education, set up its own agencies. After the expansion phase had run its course, there came the press for accountability and demonstrated outcome achievement, and the boards, commissions and authorities found themselves operating under full reverse thrust almost overnight.

The result now is that Australian post-secondary education is enmeshed in a web of bureaucratic control and political expediency from which it will emerge mangled and drained, unless there is a resurgence of institutional vitality.

THE POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION SYSTEM

Australian higher education is an enterprise that must be carried on in the face of a multitude of pressures. Some of these arise from external sources, some come from within the system and others are generated within the individual institutions. The net effect is that institutions are finding increased difficulty in maintaining their integrity as institutions. In the face of these impacts, it is becoming increasingly difficult for them to develop or even maintain a capability to respond and innovate to meet an accelerating rate of change. Current approval and, in some cases, accreditation mechanisms are such that they force institutions to conform to externally determined administrative and academic practices, few of which have been determined with preserving the capacity for institutional responsiveness in mind.

Any public service that costs the Commonwealth alone some $1600 million per annum cannot hope to be free from answer to the government that collects and provides those funds. Nor should it be - vast sums of money, indiscriminately utilised, line the road to ruin for any corporate activity, and education is no exception. On the other hand, education is such a personal activity and its benefits are of such a nature that there are no quantifiable outcomes of the educational process. Consequently, there is no single methodology that can be prescribed and costed.

The need for co-ordination is not in question. What must be settled as a matter or urgency is the form that it will take. It is a difficult process but is one that will work if its prime focus is policy planning and implementation oversight in terms that leave room for institutional manoeuvre. It is bound to fail if the co-ordinating authority attempts to make detailed interpretations of policy decisions, and then attempts to force the resulting constraints, directives and procedures on the individual institutions. This of course, has often been done and, as a result, effective post-secondary co-ordination has not been achieved in this country. We are desperately short on policy and swamped with approvals, procedures and associated bookwork.

So far the universities have, to a large extent, remained unaffected by state level co-ordination. This is mainly due to agreement at government level that each university would deal directly with the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) and the Universities Council. However, the 1970 States Grants legislation has introduced provisions which bring the universities into line with the colleges in most areas that could be covered by "co-ordination". Certainly, a great deal of the programme flexibility previously enjoyed by the universities has been lost.

The colleges of advanced education (CAEs) are in a more difficult position. They have been referred to as an "adjustable grey area" (Richardson, National Times, 1980), and with accreditation loaded on top of course approvals and financial controls it would seem that their chances to escape from the strait-jacket are remote. A good example is provided by the Queensland Board of Advanced Education. In its document, "Procedures for Accreditation and Re-accreditation of Courses" 1980 the statement is made that:

> "A highly integrated system has been established which appears to be most effective in maintaining standards within courses in each college and in co-ordinating the development of all colleges within the whole system of advanced education. It would be unwise to attempt to interfere with this by devolving to individual colleges certain tasks which they may be unable to complete competently and which cannot be seen to produce distinct advantages for the existing network" (p. 2).

Further, in its 1979 Annual Report, the Queensland Board, in reference to a dispute between itself and a particular college over the matter of the extent to which that college should operate as an autonomous institution, commented that:

> "The Board would, however, be concerned if in effecting change, much that has been achieved by evolutionary development, ordered arrangements, and co-operative endeavour were sacrificed on the altar of unfettered ambition of individual interests" (p.8).

The statement by the Chairman of the New South Wales (NSW) Higher Education Board at the 1980 HERDSA Conference (who, in the words of Millar writing in the Journal of Advanced Education (1980, p.6), seems to ". . . admit to a Damascus Road conversion in relation to his perspective of sectorial governance") seems to follow the same general, centralist pattern of making sure that individual interests do not become unfettered. Parry (1980) said:

> "What should we be doing next? It seems to me that the time has come when some cool and rational debate should be generated on the desirability and implications of establishing a co-ordinated system of institutions of higher education which might take a title somewhat like "The State University of NSW". Within the ambit of such a body, co-ordinated by a single "board of regents", there could exist, in principle, an unspecified number of autonomously conducted comprehensive universities, some of which could have arisen in the Hobart mode, others of which might be existing viable colleges of advanced education re-named. This seems to me to be the only long-term means of eliminating the tension and conflict which will always bedevil and enervate a system in which broadly similar institutions are assigned different community status" (pp. 17-18).

External forces exert a powerful influence on the work of higher education institutions and often are the sole focus of discussion on future directions in post-secondary education. However, they are only part of the total impacts that govern institutional destinies. Internal resistance to change is also a formidable force. A major difficulty for those who advocate adaptability and change in post-secondary education is that few of those engaged in the business seem prepared to accept that they are teaching, investigating and doing other associated things within an organisation. There is an almost apologetic tone in those sections of the higher educational literature that deal with organisational behaviour and pains are often taken to point out that higher education organisations are different. There has been a great deal written on governance models and structures but it is only recently that such writings have ceased to be set within the context of the folklore of collegiality. In reality it matters little whether the structure of an institution appears to be bureaucratic or collegial or some combination thereof. Any higher education institution is an organisation and displays the usual characteristics of a social system. It has no intrinsic capacity to absorb or deflect internal or external pressures without response that would set it apart from other types of organised human enterprise.

Organisations impose certain patterns of behaviour on their participants. How this happens is well described by Sheldon (1980), who comments that:

> "An organization is a 'world' with a particular view that colors what its members see and let in from the world outside. An organizational world consists of people practicing their technologies, organized by their tasks, and structured into relationships kept dynamic by the way they are measured and controlled. Inevitably, these people are to some degree self-selected, inadvertently or deliberately, and share values and attitudes. All this is directed toward some end - sometimes explicit, sometimes implicit" (p.61).

Organisations have been extensively studied and, that they are stages on which the autonomy versus control game is played with zest and deep commitment (Collins, 1979, Chap. 2), can be demonstrated with crystal clarity. Higher education organisations have their own peculiar version of the game and, when they are grouped together, even under loose "co-ordination", another set of rules emerges. This is well illustrated by the preceding quotations from Queensland and the NSW Authorities, who are playing the game according to their perception of the rules.

The proponents of the "systems approach" to post-secondary education view it as a tightly integrated group, with each institution filling a slot within a rigid matrix. They see this as a method through which accountability, in terms of the best use of the educational tax dollar and containment of wasteful competition and duplication, can be monitored. It is also consistent with the Australian mania for centralisation and keeping the poppies all at the same height. This means that it is politically attractive. It is a tidy, defensible and utterly useless concept. It didn't work in the 'seventies; the wrong slots were cut and the wrong institutions were forced into them. That is why we have a rash of failing universities, amalgamated CAEs and doubtful TAFE enterprises. This approach is certainly not appropriate for the 'eighties, which will have to be the decade of institutional resurgence.

SOME ISSUES FOR THE 'EIGHTIES

Just now, after the steady state has come upon us and has been reasonably well accommodated, there comes the next set of troubles. These have little to do with public confidence, demographic factors and the other impacts which have to date required a response. They are much more fundamental in nature and also far less predictable in their impacts. They include:

- Increased governmental regulation of all organisations in the community.
- The energy crisis, and in particular the effect on who will move where. Energy considerations will have a major affect on the location and physical form of post-secondary institutions.
- The microprocessor, with its emergent production and instruction technology. In particular, post-secondary education will be affected through the application of this technology by private enterprise.
- Social changes, including those arising from shifts in the values of post-secondary education clients, and in their study needs and habits.

Issues such as these have been widely canvassed in general terms and will not be further examined here. The outcomes are also becoming clearer. There will be more centralisation, more control-versus-autonomy conflict, and many more technological impacts on our individual and corporate lives. An environment is being created which will demand that our people be self-reliant and capable of adjusting to change. Obviously these needs call for response from higher education. It is not possible to plan this response in detail, certainly not on a national or state level. This was expected of Williams and his committee but the major finding was that it could not be done. What can be done is to point broad directions and adopt general policies which provide guidance for future development. Unfortunately, future studies are still regarded with suspicion. Future oriented thinking certainly has not yet penetrated the government departments and commissions.

Perhaps it is unfair to expect that such studies would be taken seriously by co-ordinating boards and commissions at this stage of our development. Policy recommendations and other advice based on future assessments create uncertainties, and uncertainty is not an acceptable basis upon which to play the control-autonomy game.

SOME DIRECTIONS FOR THE 'EIGHTIES

Factors such as an ageing static population and the changed "available work" characteristics are already exerting a powerful effect on the structure of post-secondary education. These, together with the emerging issues, will require a constant examination of the constitution of the study body, ongoing review of the mode and manner of teaching, and a requirement for the closest attention to be focused on what is to be taught. The outcomes of these review and evaluation processes will not be cosmetic operations designed to cover old institutions with new faces but will require the development of entirely new institutional characteristics. Paramount among them will be the capacity to accept change as a normal part of the institution's activities.

The Changing Student Body

The trend away from full-time study to part-time study and the rapid increase in part-time external enrolments is already causing considerable concern. As usual, the reaction from most co-ordinating authorities has been directed towards status quo maintenance and the institutions are, in the main, up to their old tricks of hoping that it will all go away.

Not all institutions are inactive, however. It may be the need of numbers, or it may be a dawning recognition that things really are changing, but a number of studies on the adult learner in post-secondary education have been recently carried out (Foster, 1979; Hore & West, 1980). These reports have referred with an almost incredulous air to the fact that the matrons of North Ryde, Balwyn and St Lucia have something to offer. Their intellectual capacity, motivation and experience have made them successful and stimulating students. Standards have risen, intellectual activity has transcended the peer group constraints of adolescent, and teachers seem to have found that research is not the only method of maintaining intellectual fertility.

Middle-class matrons are not the only new clients of higher education. The move towards off-campus studies has brought an entirely new population into its ambit. More and more of the people who move the earth, manage our industries, service our highly sophisticated social infrastructure are entering higher education and bringing their expertise with them. The presence of such students provides a new and powerful depth of experience and commitment that will have a major, positive impact on tertiary teaching.

Part-time study has almost always been a feature of our post-secondary education but the institutional locations and programme constraints have made this mode of study unavailable or unsuitable for many individuals engaged in the workforce. There is no doubt that the present trends will continue. They are not temporary aberrations on the behaviour line but demonstrate a basic change in the composition of the student body which institutions will ignore at their own risk.

The Mode and Manner of Teaching

It may be that the new era in tertiary education will revolve around attempts to supply interactive opportunities between staff and students in the environment that the students finds best. Current technology can already make a significant contribution to "ex-classroom" staff/student interaction and throughout the world there is a great deal of experimentation under way. Huge attitudinal changes will be necessary but, if this is to become the wish of those who pay for and use the service, then it will happen.

Naturally such changes will not occur without vigorous defence of the bastions that will have to fall. Perhaps the blow could be softened a little if administrators and academics were to read the research that examines some of the foundations upon which the existing system is erected. Young (1976) provides a good summary of some of the findings, as follows:

> "Faculty members generally are not responsible for most significant changes that take place in students. Small residential colleges most frequently offer the best conditions to exert desirable and uniform effects on student development. The so-called 'better' colleges are primarily better because of the academic ability of the students they admit. But these colleges have less effect on the intellectual development of their students than less selective institutions.
>
> Academic success as measured by grades and test scores apparently has little or no relationship to success in later life. No matter how success in later life is measured - salary, career advancement, employer ratings, or employee satisfaction - these measures do not show any significant relationship to academic performance as measured by grades and test scores in post-secondary institutions." (p.51).

It is common for administrators and academics to make much of the human qualities that a teacher brings to higher education learning. Yet the positive impact of the academic in a lecture or classroom situation has not yet been demonstrated in terms of providing the encouragement for a student to develop a personal need to know and to understand. It may be that positive challenge provided in a non-threatening environment over which the student has control will be the mode selected by students of the 'eighties.

Institutional instruction services do not sit upon a sufficiently firm base for them to pretend that private enterprise poses no threat to them in the instruction industry. Nothing could be further from the truth, and the more that the institutions ignore the technology available, the more they are handing over the critical educational decisions to commercial enterprises which see in front of them a huge market waiting.

What is to be taught?

Traditional discipline areas, organised and taught on the basis of a departmental grouping of academics, still form the basis of higher education curricula. Throughout the 'eighties this concept will be under challenge from several directions. For example:

- As man's knowledge increases, the inter-relation of ideas is becoming more obvious and is leading to new areas of study which represent an integration of knowledge derived or drawn from several discipline areas;
- In the complex society of today and in the future, the knowledge base for occupations is changing, becoming broader and less discrete. For example, an architect in designing a building must consider structural factors, aesthetic factors, psychological factors, environmental factors, etc. if the building is to meet all the needs of tomorrow. Even when using a team approach to these problem factors, the architect must have a sufficient knowledge base in these areas to be able to communicate with the team and to be communicated with.

Already there is a trend away from narrow specialisation towards the wider based graduate who has the capability to consider problems from a more integrated knowledge and skills background. This, of course, introduces a need for shorter specialist skills acquisition, discipline upgrading, or career-change courses, and will require serious attention to be paid to the concept of lifelong education.

POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE 'EIGHTIES

The pattern of Australian post-secondary education that prevailed in the 'seventies is now departing from the scene. The sectors still exist but the divisions are becoming more indistinct. It may be that a true spectrum is emerging. On the other hand, CAEs might be forgiven for thinking that the adjustments to the grey area are merely becoming more obvious.

The issues for the 'eighties have, to a large extent, already emerged and must be met through planned response. There must be a spectrum of institutions, each having an area of prime focus at some point along the "know about/know how to" range. But above all, the institutions must be accountable, must be close to the public that they seek to serve and must be capable of responding to rapidly changing needs.

Commonwealth and state government concern will not grow less, nor should it. The task of those engaged in post-secondary education will be to attempt to ensure that governments concern themselves with broad policy issues and the setting of general directions. Policy decisions, by their very nature, are political decisions. They are arrived at by managing the conflict between a number of possible political solutions. They must therefore be made by politicians; bureaucrats removed from the educative interface can make no real contribution to the political process other than through the provision of information and advice. This should be their only task - the provision of rational advice without fear of political retribution. Unfortunately to date, the advice given has often been less than rational and the fear of political retribution has been real.

The question is then, how can post-secondary education keep close to its clients and their needs during the decade of the 'eighties? The answer lies in:

- Clearly stated national and state post-secondary policy that has been politically determined on the basis of systematic investigation, planning and wide consultation. Statements of post-secondary education policy at both federal and state government level must serve as general guides for the nation's programme. The goals to be achieved and the resources allocated for this purpose need to be clearly stated. To some extent, this is already done; but it is done badly. There is confusion in the institutions between government and TEC aims and responsibilities and between educational policy and educational administration. It is imperative that governments accept responsibility for their decisions. Institutions are not capable of fighting political battles and must not be held to be responsible for government actions and reactions.

  The broader canvas responses that will be necessary can only be made politically. This is what happened in Tasmania and this, in reality, is what the Chairman of the NSW Higher Education Board found on the Damascus road: a political decision that looks as if it might be rational.
- Removal of administrative and accreditation powers and duties from the commonwealth and state post-secondary education authorities. The prime function of such authorities must be a concentration on the provision of advice for policy formulation and for the development of performance parameters. As soon as an authority is assigned an administrative role, it becomes virtually useless for policy advice and formulation purposes.
- The development of a diverse set of institutions which have the independence to implement policy, and the capacity to meet and

adapt to change. There have been various suggestions for regionalisation of post-secondary education and improved efficiency through utilisation of shared resources. These include the State University suggestion and various regional, urban and metropolitan college proposals (Ahern, 1980; Beswick, 1979).

- An effective recognition and control of the process of de-institutionalisation. The trend towards off-campus studies and commercial based instruction will not recede. Authorities and institutions must react in a rational, controlled manner if our services are to retain their excellence and relevance under vastly changed conditions of need and use.
- Close objective examination of the general structure of the curriculum. The structure of a three year*plus degree course must be challenged. The new demands on graduates may be better served by a shorter initial education, followed by a carefully sequenced set of continuing education courses. This injection of real meaning into continuing education will be a major challenge of the 'eighties.

CONCLUSION

This paper has not set out to introduce new concepts or to put forward radical solutions to the problems of the 'eighties. Most of the areas discussed have been examined elsewhere, often in voluminous detail. Unfortunately, the outcomes of these discussions have been words and more words. Until some basic truths are recognised, wordy ad-hocracy will remain the distinguishing characteristic of higher education in this country. What has been attempted is to suggest that the needs are known, the issues are clear and the paths have emerged, even if only indistinctly at this stage.

Five themes have been explored, along which action could be directed:

THEME 1 - Higher education policy is a matter for political decision and political responsibility. Higher education institutions will cease to exist if they are required to carry out their duties in an environment of involvement in political conflict.

THEME 2 - Co-ordination at federal and state level is necessary. It must be based on principles and not procedures if it is to work. The prime purpose of the authorities must be the provision of advice to government based on systematic study.

THEME 3 - Institutions must be individually managed and individually accountable.

THEME 4 - New kinds of institutions must arise in which resources are grouped and services provided so that the widest possible range of clients can be taught and community needs met. All this must be accomplished in the face of political, economic and social impacts whose precise nature have yet to be determined.

THEME 5 - Institutions will remain at the mercy of the mob so long as they resist change, deny flexibility and cling to concepts of the nature of the institution and of its autonomy and governance that never really existed. We live in a dynamic society and must be served by dynamic institutions. Those that choose not to accept change as a vital element in their mission will merely be eliminated.

Post-secondary education must now become a visible, flexible public support service. Governments and institutions both have a duty in this regard. The task of government is to set out policy, to monitor performance, to make sure that post-secondary education or its institutions do not become pawns in political power plays, and to protect institutional independance. Institutions must accept that they are accountable to their supporting public and must seek to demonstrate that they are properly using the public resources set aside for their maintenance. Above all, however, institutions must consciously seek to build "change agents" into their structures. Without innovative and adventurous institutions, it is difficult to see higher education emerging from the 'eighties as anything more than a gaggle of ad hoc training centres.

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CHAPTER 3.2

PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY IN AUSTRALIAN TERTIARY EDUCATION

JOHN BREMER

What I want to do is to take the title given to me and to do with it what Marx did with Hegel, that is to stand it on its head, and by the end of what I have to say I hope that the meaning of that remark will be clear.

From my short experience in Australia I would like to make the following general remarks:

First of all, education, or the educational system as a whole in Australia as a matter of fact does not exist, there is not a whole system, there are a lot of bits and pieces strung together and one of the major problems that Australian education faces, and it is not alone in this for the same comments could be made for many other countries that I know, that the distinction between primary, secondary and tertiary levels are quite arbitrary. They have historical origins and really are totally inexplicable in anything except historical terms. The trouble is that under those circumstances the structure of higher education, or the structure of education itself in general and of higher education in particular, will generate problems which it is incapable of solving.

Secondly, when you set out to justify an educational programme it cannot be done in terms of its parts, that is, you cannot take any single part of an educational programme and justify it, you can only justify an educational programme as a whole.

Now when I begin to look at the educational institutions that I have seen and which claim to embody educational programmes I find that there are a number of things which seem to me to be quite basic to the whole educational process, which are not understood particularly well, partly because they are not thought about in any great detail. I would take as the most obvious example of that the fact that I do not believe that we know what teaching and learning mean, nor do we see any particular reason for trying to come to any common understanding. On top of that, may I say, we tend to work on the assumption that teaching and learning have something to do with the transmittal of information instead of realising that whatever else education may be it is a moral enterprise in which values are paramount and whatever else society is it is a moral matrix first.

Now finally in these general remarks, let me say to you that although I do it with some diffidence, the educational system is not Australian, it is imported, it is derivative, it is colonial and industrial. Industrial is not originally an Australian word. The industrialisation of the world has spread from western Europe primarily and it has spread to Australia, but the whole vocabulary of education which derives from industrialisation is in fact quite hostile to what I regard, after an eight months stay, as the general Australian experience. And again, all I can do is to point out to you that when you import something into an alien environment it is quite possible that the lack of harmony between the environment and that which is imported will cause problems which are in principle insoluble.

Now, with so much as a kind of a prologue, let me say that in talking about accountability in Australian tertiary education, I have a lot of problems understanding what we mean by education, what we mean by tertiary education and what we mean by Australian tertiary education.

But when I am thinking about accountability with regard to Australian tertiary education I find a number of other problems. What could accountability possibly mean? Does it mean demonstrating in some strange way the efficient achievement of ends through a period of time? If that is so, where do we examine ends, where are goals, purposes formulated, where are they discussed and debated.

As a matter of fact, most of you who have any administrative experience at all will know that institutions tend to have add-on budgets, that is you take last year's and you add on, and there is no way in practical terms in which you can go back to a zero base and start over and simply say "What are the things that we ought to be doing and what are the resources that we ought to be allocated to the achievement of these ends?" We don't have specific goals, we have rather vague and general goals, and every university that I have visited tells me how it is dedicated to research. I am sure that all the institutions that I have visited are dedicated to research, I just don't quite know what they mean by it, and when I ask for some particulars, I do get exactly that, particulars, I get examples, isolated examples, and the notion of research as a way of life being carried on by a group of people seems somehow to escape notice.

Now, it is true that if people took the trouble to explain to me the specific ends of their research it is quite probable that I would not understand and therefore in thinking about the question of accountability, if that involves the question of ends one has to realise that many ends which are certainly worthy of accomplishment are not susceptible to the formulation which can be understood by you, by me, by most folks. And there is very little hope or expectation that such ends could be formulated in a way that we would know how to print them. So there is a whole area of problems connected with accountability in the realm of ends. First of all we don't look at ends very much; secondly, when we do they tend to be rather vague and general; thirdly, many times they cannot be adequately expressed and, fourthly, they cannot be communicated to large numbers of people who, according to what I think is a mistaken mythology, need to understand in order to support higher education.

Now, there are additional problems of course, and I don't need to dwell upon them. In the process of achieving ends, if in fact the ends are separable from the means of achievement, no public monitoring is possible or practical, and so in the title of the public accountability of Australian tertiary education I do begin to wonder first of all in terms of ends, and secondly in terms of means, whether such a thing is even remotely possible. Now, given that, I would like to formulate a way of handling that sort of situation. It has been done at a number of places in Australia to my knowledge, probably in others that I don't know about. And that is the formulation of some kind of programming planning budgeting system (PPBS). Now I don't know whether PPBS has reared its ugly head on your particular campuses, but I don't think that it would work and for a number of reasons.

First of all, the inertia of the educational system is against it, secondly, the reluctance of academics to change, which is notorious and deeply entrenched, would make it virtually valueless in any form that I have ever seen it, but in any case, even if that were not so, education is a non-industrial enterprise and it is only possible to monitor perhaps the external, the superficial, the quantifiable aspects of education. Now, don't misunderstand me, I think those things that are susceptible to being reduced to numbers can quite usefully on occasions be reduced to numbers, and if it amuses people to play with those numbers, then I think they should be allowed to have their toys. But I don't think that we should let that happen under the mistaken belief that we have got to the heart of the matter.

Now the problem is at least in part that we seem to have fallen prey to the rhetoric that there is a kind of mythical scientific method, or there is some kind of commercial or industrial process of monitoring which is applicable to the field of education. When I hear words like "input" and "output" and "product" and "pipeline" and "resource" I really began to wonder what we are discussing. I might just as well have gone to Detroit and visited General Motors.

Now, if you want to work for an industrial enterprise I don't think there is any reason why you shouldn't do it. However, to get into the field of education and suppose that the same world exists there, or if it doesn't exist it is only because of the incompetency of that world, I think is to make a very serious and very grave error. If you wish to be judged in industrial terms, then you will be judged in industrial terms and you will be changed and turned into factories. The educational enterprise is not an industrial or commercial one and I do not know how to put a price tag on it. It is a normative activity, it is one fraught with values, and people who talk about value free education are talking about something which is totally valueless.

On top of all that, I think we also have to face the question of the meaning of the word "public" in the title of this talk. Now I assume that the word public is understood in contra distinction to something called private and the distinction between private and public is a very serious and a very important one. I do not know whether you believe that education is a public or a private activity. I have to think that it is both, but may I say that you cannot - because it is both - talk about it as if it were only one. In any case, in terms of public accountability we do not have a public - at least I haven't managed to find one in Australia anymore than I could find one in the United States or Canada or England. We do not have a public, what we do have is a conglomeration of conflicting private interests which occasionally find it convenient to harmonise. We do not have a public. What we do find is the unedifying sight of some private person, or even a politician demanding explanations of institutions through parliament or through the media, but simply because these demands are made, because a conflict is witnessed by us, that does not make it public, nor does it make it, accountability.

In order to deal with the question of accountability I think we have to go to a very different sense of the word and perhaps the greatest failure of tertiary education has been that the question of accountability has ever been allowed to arise. That is to say, if higher education, if tertiary education, had been doing what it ought to have been doing and in the way in which it ought to have been done over the past ten, fifteen, twenty years, or more, then the question of accountability should never have arisen, would never have arisen. I ask you to think about accountability not in an industrial model, not from the point of view of a book-keeper or an accountant, but the kind of accountability that goes on in a family.

Living in a family we hold one another accountable and we do this as an ongoing process, as a continuing process, through the joint participation that we have in a common life. Now it is true that parts of our lives may be lived separated from the family, but nevertheless there is a large part that we have in common and we don't at the end of every week or month or year, whether it be financial or calendar, sit down with each other and say "Now, you have had so much money, what have you done with it?", or "You said you would do these things with that amount of money, have you in fact done those things and where is the evidence?" There is a kind of accountability which goes on simply through the interaction between human beings and it goes on in such a way that not only do we understand what other people are trying to do and how they are trying to do it, as they understand the same things about us, but also in the process of seeing that go on we can understand fully why their goals, their purposes, might well change and perhaps we can even see that they ought to change and therefore do not at a certain point in time say "But you wanted to be an engine driver, why is it that you now wish to become a dentist?" We can go through those processes in our common life with the members of our family.

Now accountability is achieved by and through the process, in fact it is the process of sharing a common life, and if you want to look at the question of public accountability in Australian tertiary education, let me say to you if I might, that your accountability is first of all inwardly to the members of your own institutions. Now I don't know how often, or under what circumstances you talk to the members of your own institution. I met recently with the Vice Chancellor of a University for about an hour and a half and afterwards somebody said "You spent more time with him than his Deputy has spent in the last two years, what did you talk about?" Now under those circumstances may I say something is wrong. I don't know who you talk to, I don't know under what circumstances you talk to them, but I talk to a lot of different people in institutions and I would like to tell you something which perhaps you may not wish to hear, something I have learned.

The first thing that I have learned is that on the whole, particularly in universities may I say, and I want to be clear, in my limited experience, but what I have learned thus far is that university students particularly do not trust their institutions. If a tertiary institution is going to be accountable it is already accountable in fact to the students within it and to the staff, but I am talking about the students right now. And what I can tell you is that a large number of students seem to have the view that they exist for the sake of the institution, that they are numbers, that they are there in order to let somebody else have an excuse for doing what they are going to do anyway. They do not feel that the institution is there to help and encourage them (and I carefully avoid the use of the word serve). They do not believe that there is an identity of interest between themselves as students and the staff, both academic and administrative of the institution. If that is so, and my evidence points me in that direction now, then may I say that the hope of being accepted publicly as it were, like a member of a family is accepted, the hopes of that are remarkably slim. And if you want to deal with the question of accountability then I think you have first of all to look inwardly and to see what the pattern of social relationships, what the pattern of administrative organisation is, within your institution, and if you are not held accountable - and I want to be clear - not in the industrial model, not in terms of a PPBS scheme, but in terms of the family notion that I have tried to put to you, if you are not held accountable in that way then you do not have, as they say, "a snowflake's hope in hell". That is where you have to begin. You are accountable, firstly, inwardly and if your own students do not support you outside, nobody else will.

Now I could go on and say similar things about the relationship between staff and administration, or the way in which staff members feel about the institution and the way in which the institution in some nameless way is using them. I will not do that, you know it better than I, you work in the institutions. But let me just say again that our institutions have an historical origin not a philosophical origin, - if it is true that those institutions are out of touch with their own internal membership, as I believe they are, (and they would certainly not practice the modes of instruction which they have if they were in touch with them), it is equally true that many higher education institutions are out of touch with the larger society. Still, in spite of everything perhaps the fact that one inhabits a separate building or a separate campus and the operative word, of course, is separate, makes it very very difficult ever to be integrated into the life of the local society. But many institutions do not see the need for that, nor are they willing to exert any effort or energy in order to bring about a proper kind of interaction and therefore they are seen as being aloof, isolated, remote, they are in fact towers although not necessarily of ivory.

Now to bring about a change is certainly beyond my capacity either to effect or even to describe. All I can do is to say what I find to be a more useful way of thinking about the problem.

The major problem that Australian society faces is how to find a proper place for disciplined intelligence within the whole fabric of society. Now existing institutions are not doing this. I do not believe that they have done it and it is a genuine question whether they can do it, whether they are capable of doing it, both by their nature and by their history. The fundamental question has to do with disciplined intelligence in society and not with whether or not this institution or that, which at some point in the past, were thought to embody disciplined intelligence, should or should not continue in this or that form. If one focusses on the question of the proper role of intelligence in society then perhaps one can begin to see what needs to be done.

If we were to do this genuinely, then the question which was in its own way embodied in the title given to me, would undergo a rather curious kind of reversal. It is in fact the office and function of disciplined intelligence, of principled intelligence, to hold society accountable and it is the office of principled intelligence which by its interest, its concern, its example and it power purifies society, but not as an external agent operating as if it stood outside the main flow of the social stream, but in exactly the same way as the soul looks after the body, or if you don't like that metaphor, it is like Aristotle said, "A doctor curing himself".

You can see how I have come to turn the question that was asked me on its head. It is the function of education in its highest aspects to hold both itself and the society which has made it possible, accountable for what it does, and what do I find, I find academics scrabbling over power, over student numbers and over money and over territoriality and things of that nature. If you wish to be judged in those terms then you can be, and if you will forgive me, because I see many people here that I do know and would like to regard as colleagues, if *we* want to be judged in those terms, we will be and if we are, you know very well what the outcome will be. I am not prepared to accept the rules that politicians or administrators and bureaucrats lay down. Philosophy, another word for principled intelligence, is not for sale. It is not our concern to produce people who can be bought and sold. If we do do that, then we will be judged accordingly. I would not want you to think that because I have said that, that education has to be useless. Quite on the contrary. If one believes the accounts of the virtues the private enterprise system values then independence surely and honesty are things that are to be prized. Whether in fact they are prized is another question, but what I do know is that people with independence of judgement, with principled intelligence will always find a way of contributing to the world society in which they live. And I also know that people who think that the purpose of an education is simply to get a job will be turned into instruments.

And so I leave with you your concern about public accountability of Australian tertiary education. Begin to think about the problem the other way round, don't sit and be criticised in terms of other people's standards and principles, let us figure out for ourselves what our principles are and show the industrial segment of society, if you wish, the political segment, the bureaucratic segment, let us show society that we have principles both for ourselves, because we live them, and that entitles us to help them purify what they are doing.

CHAPTER 3.3

COMMENTARY ON SECTION 3 PAPERS

THE PATTERN AND ACCOUNTABILITY OF THE NEW ERA

PETER R. CHIPPENDALE

INTRODUCTION

A group of participants drawn from a wide cross-section of administrative and academic interests in Australian tertiary education examined a number of issues underlying the question of "The Pattern and Accountability of the New Era". This group was led by Dr. Brian Roberts, Dean of the School of Applied Science and Member of the Governing Council of the Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education.

INSTITUTIONAL AUTONOMY AND ACCOUNTABILITY

Institutions of post-secondary education, it was held, should be accountable in fiscal and educational terms, not only to government, but also to their regional communities, to their staffs and to their students. But it is of considerable importance that the institutions develop a "bottom-up" form of accountability rather than slavishly follow the "top-down" model in which accountability is regarded as the almost exclusive responsibility of extra-institutional co-ordinating bodies. A centrally controlled system, it seemed, is unable to respond sufficiently rapidly to regional educational needs. The function of state co-ordinating authorities ought to be limited to the identification of broad areas of need or of overlap without impinging on institutional management or institutional procedures. Indeed, the co-ordinating bodies should encourage the institutions themselves to develop a greater measure of autonomy and self-reliance. The Tertiary Education Commission, for instance, should be less the instrument of government and more the instrument of a range of institutions which establish their own aims and priorities in accordance with the educational demands of the communities or regions which they serve. This concept of "bottom-up" accountability assumes that institutions under pressure of financial stringencies or of low enrolments will resist temptations to lower educational standards or to initiate inappropriate courses of study. In the "bottom-up" model, effective use of staff resources, as reflected in systematic staff evaluation, will be seen as the most important measure of self-accountability and consequently suggest the level of institutional autonomy or control, that is warranted.

AUTONOMY, ACCOUNTABILITY AND THE PATTERN OF ORGANISATION

There is clearly a case, it was asserted, for more co-operative use of physical and human resources among institutions of various kinds serving the same regional or metropolitan area. Consequently, it is of fundamental importance that the enhancement of institutional autonomy advocated above does not detract from institutional co-operation across the three sectors of Australian tertiary education. Staff of a number of institutions have initiated some positive attempts to break down inter-sectorial barriers by contracting courses to other institutions, and through similar co-operative ventures. These endeavours should receive more encouragement from the higher administrative levels of all three sectors which themselves should demonstrate a more positive attitude towards cross-sectorial co-operation. Lack of positive co-operative attitudes on the part of councils or of heads of particular institutions, for example, should not be accepted as sufficient grounds for the maintenance of a completely separate or isolated operation of a sector within a particular region.

Nor, should there be any financial advantage in offering a particular course in any one sector.

The exemplary success of the University of Wollongong in establishing the Illawarra Regional Advisory Committee on Tertiary Education, in co-operation with the TAFE sector and the ex-Teachers' College of the region, warrants, it was claimed, careful examination as a model in co-operative educational enterprise, for other regions. Again, the naming of the new colleges in the North West of Western Australia as, simply "colleges", with no specific sector connotations, is a highly commendable initiative as it permits activities normally associated with particular sectors to proceed in a region in a more integrated way. All in all, if institutions are to use their resources well and thus demonstrate real accountability, the emphasis must shift from "empires" to "education".

THE PATTERN OF ORGANISATION AND TECHNOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY

If for no other reason, the pattern of organisation of tertiary education in Australia, it was contended, will require substantial modification so that the tertiary system might properly adapt to the new technology and changing social and economic order of the late Twentieth Century. Increasing energy costs, for example, will almost inevitably demand that the pattern of organisation of the Australian tertiary system be substantially redesigned to make much greater provision for off-campus offerings, and especially for a new and growing population of mature-age students.

The new technology, at the same time, is likely to have a significant impact on the education process. The emergence of computer-assisted instruction, for instance, and technological advances resulting in greatly increased student access to comprehensive data banks, are likely to underline independent study as a major mode of student learning, with consequent severe implications for instructional patterns. And within this changing pattern of organisation a large-scale provision will need to be made for devising and implementing substantial programmes for inservice training of tertiary teachers, in the nature and meaning of this new technology and its implications for the process and organisation of post-secondary education.

CONCLUSION

The above notions of autonomy, accountability and pattern of organisation in Australian tertiary education in the late Twentieth Century thus re-emphasised some persistent and widely held views which implicitly or explicitly emerged in the earlier debates on the future purposes and future roles of post-secondary education in Australia, viz:

- That the prevailing pattern of organisation of Australian tertiary education promotes an educational system characterised by rigid and anachronistic barriers arbitrarily drawn, and often jealously guarded, between the university, CAE and TAFE sectors.
- That a substantial dissolution of these inter-sectorial barriers is fundamental, not only to the efficient use of existing physical and human resources of Australian post-secondary education, but also to the promotion of the flexibility and adaptability demanded of the tertiary system by the changing instructional patterns and methodologies, and the changing educational aspirations - especially as these relate to the mature-age student - of the late Twentieth Century.
- That the official view, that the exacting of accountability from Australian tertiary institutions is properly the function of co-ordinating or other extra-institutional authorities of the state, should no longer prevail, since it fundamentally impedes the ability of the institutions to respond with

necessary rapidity and flexibility to the legitimate educational demands of their own communities.

- That the proper function of co-ordinating authorities is to identify broad areas of need or of overlap; but not to impinge on the autonomy of institutional management. Such authorities ought not be the instrument of government but of a variety of post-secondary institutions whose business it is to be accountable and responsive to the educational demands of their communities.
- That in the changing social and educational order of the late Twentieth Century the appropriate pattern of organisation for Australian tertiary education might be found in a range of post-secondary institutions served by statutory co-ordinating authorities, ultimately accountable, in fiscal and educational terms, to the state, but more immediately responsive and accountable to their own communities, and co-operating with each other in a common national enterprise.

The understanding of "The New Era for Tertiary Education" by those who debated the issues raised by the papers which comprise this volume was thus at sharp variance with what were perceived as officially entrenched views and prevailing practices in the roles and purposes, and the pattern and accountability of Australian tertiary education in the late Twentieth Century.

CONFERENCE OVERVIEW

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ALEC ROSS

Though the papers and discussions in this conference have ranged widely, the focus has been on three related themes; firstly the aims of tertiary education in the 1980s; secondly, given these aims, what are the likely future roles for institutions of tertiary education in Australia? The third theme was concerned with accountability at Commonwealth, State and institutional levels.

On the first theme, aims of tertiary education, it has been said that to seek to define the aims of education in broad general terms is a waste of time whilst any attempt to define them more precisely is downright dangerous. The hazards referred to may well be thought to be those arising from a mis-handling of the concept of accountability which appears as our third theme. Danger may also come from the lack of flexibility in response which may follow from an over-prescriptive form of management. In considering the aims of tertiary education as a whole we have a peculiar difficulty caused by the fact that the constituents of tertiary education in Australia have emerged from three quite different traditions. The aims of the particular sectors can be worked out only within the context of the overall aim of post-secondary education as a whole. The task of clarification would be made easier if there were more data; a statement of aims is necessarily a declaration of a series of value judgements but judgements based upon ascertained fact are likely to be sounder than those based on hunches. Information about the system as it is will not, however, be sufficient; our view of the place of tertiary education in the 1980s in Australia is influenced by the judgements we make about our position in the world and about the changes in our society likely to occur in the next decade. This discussion was one of the most interesting parts of the conference. Such considerations inevitably bring us into the realm of politics and the conference was fortunate in hearing how these questions are handled by experienced, practising politicians. In tertiary education the political decisions which emerge should, I suggest, be the result of a dialogue between the politicians and the academic community and conferences such as this provide opportunities for that dialogue to take place. Academics have a duty to ensure that the public and political debate is a well-informed one. If we are to do this properly we must ensure that the sectors are more aware of - and better informed about - the activities of the other sectors.

This takes me to the second theme - the role of particular types of institution. It will be convenient to bring in the accountability theme at the same time for that surely is likely to be the dominant concern of the 1980s. Accountability is, of course, one aspect of a larger concept which sees institutions as so many production units effectively managed from elsewhere. Brian Abbey's paper demonstrates that manpower-planning has to be seen as part of wider socio-economic planning. The disastrous experience of the United Kingdom in relation to planning the supply of medical doctors and school teachers is confirmation of that. Manpower planning is not a miracle drug even in the form of what the present British government calls "broad steer". A recent study by Williams and others (Fulton, Gordon and Williams, 1980) reaches this conclusion:

> ". . . any country which wishes to use manpower forecasts as the main basis for planning higher education needs to devote considerable resources to the activity both in formulating the plan and in implementing it. Manpower planning requires substantial activities in the central planning agencies, in the universities and other institutions of higher education and in the main employing enterprises" (p.112).

Our institutional goals will not, however, be dictated only by manpower planning forecasts. The so-called "social demand" of students will continue but the term "student" will now cover a more varied group of people. Students are making better informed choices and some may even decide to come to us later rather than sooner. The mature students are likely to be an increasingly significant group and several things flow from this: styles of learning may well be more variegated and it follows that styles of teaching should also be varied. Systems of independent study in which a student shapes his or her own programme rather than taking the standard menu are favoured by mature students. Modes of attendance (full-time, part-time, on campus, distant study centres) must surely be varied so that tertiary education is no longer seen as something designed for full-time locally-resident students of 18 plus. Nor should we limit ourselves to students reading for named awards; our doors should be open to all who wish to learn. For too long our institutions of tertiary education have been ghettos of the young. The task of redeployment of redundant workers is one initially of retraining and tertiary institutions have a contribution to make to the solution of what is likely to be a problem of increasing difficulty in the 1980s.

I come next to staff. Leo West demonstrated clearly the mal-distribution in terms of age which most institutions now have. Any institutional plan must keep this in mind not as a cause of inevitable stagnation but as a challenge to be answered in terms of staff development programmes. Policies for premature retirement for those who are willing to leave early on inflation-indexed pensions will do something to ease the problem but staff re-training including assistance to those who wish to retrain with a view to moving out of the profession altogether, also has a contribution to make. It may also be necessary to look at conditions of service especially where they include automatic tenure. Those who teach in tertiary education must be protected from dismissal on the grounds of having unpopular or even revolutionary views but where there is general legislation covering redundancy this should be sufficient for academic staff too.

In my survey of the scene from the institutional point I have looked at students, then staff; I turn now to the programmes of study. Professor Charlesworth's elegant plea for liberal education will not go unheeded and the scientists present showed how science can also provide the basis of a liberal education. This line of thought reinforces the caution expressed about tying courses too closely to particular vocational outcomes and this brought us back to manpower planning yet again. There can be no doubt that if tertiary education is to provide to more people the benefits of a liberalising post-secondary education, the programme of offerings will have to be more extensive than it is at present. It may be that the Technical and Further Education colleges have a particular duty and opportunity there. It is obvious that no institution could meet all the reasonable demands which might be made of tertiary education. Some will be funded for advanced research, some for specialist work in particular fields such as agriculture and catering, some for workshop intensive courses. Geography also plays its part and the range of courses offered in the single institution in one city will necessarily be broader than that offered in an institution which is part of a cluster of neighbouring institutions.

This takes me to my final point - the institutions and their control. We shall undoubtedly see a greater degree of top-down planning especially in relation to coordinating the activities of the three sectors of tertiary education. It is in this context that the discussions on accountability are most likely to develop. However, considerations such as the way in which an institution responds to new local demands is something which calls for a bottom-up mode of operation. The compromise clearly lies in giving to institutions sufficient local autonomy (subject to being accountable locally) to be in a position to respond to new and changing demands. We should encourage institutions to offer courses and consultancies with a view to generating income. What there is not room for, however, is unnecessary duplication of courses, both within and between the sectors. Indeed, it could be said that the extent to which a reasonable measure of institutional autonomy is preserved or accorded is related to the extent to which all the partners in tertiary education behave responsibly in their use of public funds.

Professor Williams' invaluable survey of the whole of tertiary education has provided us with a useful starting point for planning for the 1980s. The clarification of our institutional goals must take into account the activities of our partners in the whole tertiary education enterprise. A degree of rationalisation is undoubtedly called for and not only in teacher education. But there is a positive side too; the new populations, the new "delivery systems" and the new areas of concern call for diversification and innovation within the system. The task is a daunting one and it cannot be carried out by the academics alone; change within the world of education is a reflection of changes taking place in society as a whole. Nevertheless, tertiary education and those within it cannot but have a significant influence upon the way in which society develops and the extent to which it achieves its objectives. This is now more widely recognised and has, perhaps, led to the greater concern to monitor if not control what we do in post-secondary education. A further implication lies in the considerable proportion of the national income now invested in our activities. Policy for tertiary education will then be a matter for public debate, locally, in the States and in the Commonwealth as a whole. If we are to be informed participants in that debate we shall need more conferences of the kind now being concluded here in Darling Downs.

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